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ABSTRACT

The languages of Nigeria and language usage in that country are discussed in a study designed to illustrate the need for a Nigerian lingua franca. Extensive data are first presented on Nigerian languages and dialects, their classification, and their geographic distribution. The remainder of the survey is devoted to a sociolinguistic study of language needs in Nigeria. The pedagogical advantages of fostering a nationwide native language are balanced against the desirability of bringing about language uniformity in the context of bilingual education. A discussion of the notion of lingua franca bridges reports on Pidgin English (which is viewed as the unofficial lingua franca of Nigeria) and Hausa (a language of imposition which can be effectively developed as the most desirable Nigerian lingua franca). (JB)

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LANGUAGE SURVEY IN NIGERIA

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PREFACE

LANGUAGE SURVEY OF NIGERIA

In presenting this *Language Survey of Nigeria* to the enthusiasts of African Studies, I think it proper to offer a few remarks - first, on the circumstances under which the research was initiated and secondly, on my intention for undertaking it.

At the Inaugural Conference of West African Modern Languages Association (WAMLA) held in the Conference Center of the University of Ibadan in April 1975, I presented a paper entitled: "Multilingualism and the Problem of an indigenous Lingua Franca in Nigeria". The acceptance of this paper for publication in the West African Journal of Modern Languages acted as a stimulus for further research.

How realistic are we to propose or advocate the adoption of an indigenous national lingua franca for Nigeria without at least a preliminary work as to the exact number of languages in the country? What are these languages and in what parts of the country are they spoken? What is the magnitude of the problems posed by the extreme multilingualism in the country? Here lies, in fact, the genesis of the present research, which is an attempt to find answers to these and other questions about our languages.

During the past few years it has been observed that articulate Nigerians have been showing a growing anxiety about the apparent official ignorance of, or insufficient attention to, the indigenous languages since this country achieved independence. It has, rather suddenly, begun to be more widely appreciated than hitherto that a linguistic survey of Nigeria is a matter of great importance to the present and future generations of this country. The present survey is therefore intended precisely as preliminary studies that could be useful to politicians and educationists in their language planning and policy.

Language is an integral or inseparable part of culture of a people. Thinking and creativity which are indispensable to the survival of an individual or a nation are more or less linked to language and culture. Thinking and behaviour are inter-related because bahaviour is the outward manifestation of the inner being. Similarly, thinking, behaviour and language are closely related because language is one of the vehicles through which our thoughts are expressed. Conversely, the language we speak has great influence on our behaviour. The culture of the blackman together with his history, language, music, literature, arts, etc. has since the colonial period been downgraded. We want to correct all this. But how can we upgrade a Nigerian language to the status of a national language in such a highly multilingual society like ours without at the same time unknowingly sparking off an inflammatory social and political issue?

With a new wave of interest in African studies, African culture and languages and the academic interest taken by our universities in the study of our languages, I hope we shall soon find a solution to the problem of how we can play an effective role on the world stage without abandoning our inherited linguistic past.

Conducted as an independent academic undertaking, the survey could nonetheless have never hoped to operate without a full financial backing. In this respect, I am most grateful to the University of Lagos for sponsoring and effectively financing the research.

I must also mention that the encouragement and shared wisdom of some Faculty colleagues have been quite invaluable.

In a highly multilingual state like Nigeria, no one scholar can claim cognizance of the language situation in all parts of the Federation. In this research, I have therefore drawn very heavily upon the knowledge of others, from all walks of life, who themselves have detailed information of various local situations.

My greatest debt is to the scholars of the Institute of Linguistics, P.O. Box 790, Jos, and especially to its Directors, Richard K. Bergman and Ronald Stanford, for their enthusiasm to help and guide, their readiness to exchange views and share knowledge by making precious documents wholly available to eager researchers and, above all, their spirit of co-operation and selfless service at all times. The Institute was closed down in 1976 by the order of the Federal Military Government. When I was working with it, I knew it as a voluntary organisation (with perhaps religious bias) affiliated to the American based world-wide Summer Institute of Linguistics, and associated in Nigeria with Sudan Interior Mission and Sudan United Mission organisations as well as Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria and University of Nigeria, Nsukka.

During the past three years a large number of people, too numerous to enumerate here, have assisted in many ways: carrying out surveys, evaluating data collected, supplying more information and answering questions; many Institutes and schools have given assistance in their relevant fields of specialization and have sent prompt answers to our Questionnaire. We are quite grateful to all of them.

PART "A"
CHAPTERS 1 - 7

CHAPTER 1

LANGUAGES OF NIGERIA

When the research on *Multilingualism and the Problems of Lingua Franca* was commenced in September 1975, practical consideration and the adoption of a sort of 'charity begins at home' attitude obliged me to start first with the Languages of Nigeria before undertaking world case-studies of pluri-lingualism.

Nigeria, a Federal Republic of 19 states, is situated on the West Coast of Africa. Located approximately between latitudes 4° and 14° north or the Equator and longitudes 3° and 15° east of Greenwich, its territory extends about 1,050 kilometres (650 miles) from north to south and 1,126 kilometres (700 miles) from east to west. It is bounded on the south by the Gulf of Guinea, on the west by the Republic of Benin, on the north by the Republic of Niger, and on the east by the republics of Chad and Cameroun.

Although, according to the United Nations Demographic Yearbook 1973 (page 10) on Accuracy, Ratings of Census Data, Nigeria with its 1963 census was placed under the 5th and last category of Very Rough Data, that figure still serves as guidelines in the appraisal of the nation's population position vis-à-vis the rest of the world. Its 1963 census figure of 55,670,052 spread over 923,773 square kilometres (356,669 square miles), makes it the largest country in Africa in terms of population and the 13th largest state in the continent in terms of size. Its present population represents over a fifth of the total population of Africa including Egypt.

The population, which increases by over a million every 18 months, is almost entirely African belonging to some 368 linguistic groups, the principal ones being Hausa, Igbo, Yoruba and Fulani. Hausa and Fulani predominate in the north, Igbo in the east and Yoruba in the west.

It is estimated that all over the country about 48% of the population are Mohammedans (mainly in the north and west); 23% are Christians, predominantly in coastal districts and hinterland; the remainder follow traditional beliefs.

There are some 35,000 Europeans, Americans, Arabs and others engaged in Government posts, commerce, and missionary work.

Improved means of communication has made Nigerian lands more accessible to researchers. We have had the opportunity of penetrating into more parts of the country than ever before. We can now participate more actively in undertaking researches in our own right. New discoveries have also been made which drastically change previous assumptions and arguments. More verifiable details have come with the penetration of our land and people by the missionary, the taxman, the census-man, the soldier, the researcher, the development planner the Nigerian Youth Corps and the oil explorers farther in the country's ethnic territories and linguistic groups in recent years.

The data on Nigerian languages are based on my 1976 nation-wide survey of Nigerian linguistic groups. The list does not claim to have settled for all time the question of how many languages there are in the country. However, it

certainly represents an improvement on previous knowledge and sets a standard for more accurate linguistic mapping of Nigeria.

The number of our languages has previously been variously put as 150, 200, 250, 300, 400, etc We want to correct this wrong impression of inexactitude and guess-work of the past so that the public will be fed with precise facts and figures. Four clear objectives were pursued therefore in carrying out the 1976 survey of Nigerian languages. We aimed at furnishing the public with:

a) number and names of languages (and in certain cases dialects) in each of the 19 states of the Federation:
b) areas where they are spoken: State, Province, Division, District, Emirate, etc.;
c) population (if possible) of speakers of each language;
d) other relevant information on certain languages.

The following is the order or approach adopted in obtaining detailed data for the first phase of the research: Language Survey of Nigeria.

The task involved searching through all available records, travellers' diaries, colonial ethnographic reports and maps, records of missionaries on ethnic and linguistic groups, etc. Though useful, these sources have their limitations: some are inaccurate, and in many cases errors which were accumulated from various works by C.K. Meek, D. Forde, C.L. and O. Temple, P.A. Talbot, etc. were faithfully repeated or preserved in subsequent official records and maps.

Actual field investigations followed documentary studies. Every opportunity to travel widely in Nigeria and visit ethnic territories and linguistic groups was enthusiastically seized and exploited. There were also visits to all the Liaison Offices of the various states of the Federation in Lagos for information on some linguistic data in respect of each state. The response was disappointing: with the exception of Mr. J.D. Oni, information officer in Kwava State Governement Liaison Office, other state liaison officers from multilingual states were quite ignorant of the ethnic groups or languages in their respective states.

Many visits in Lagos to:

I) Demographic Division, National Census Office,
II) Federal Office of Statistics,
III) Various Divisions of the Federal Ministry of Information
IV) National TV House,
V) N.B.C.

were equally disappointing as the officers had nothing to offer regarding the languages of Nigeria.

Questionnaire was sent to various Ministries of Information throughout the country requesting each state to furnish us with specific informations on its languages. Nothing came out of this approach; only three states - Sokoto/Niger and Rivers states - were respondents to the Questionnaire.

A linguistic survey based on responses to Questionnaire from 2,450 undergraduates of the University of Lagos during April 1976 proved rather unrepresentative of the extreme linguistic diversity of the country. Only 36 linguistic groups out of a national total of about 368 were found in the sample. These are Alago, Anaang, Angas, Birom, Busa, Chamba, Degema, Ebira, Edo, Efik, Eggon, Egun, Fulfulde, Gwari, Hausa, Ibibio, Idoma, Igala, Igbo, Ijo, Isoko, Isekivi, Jukun, Kaje, Kambari, Kana (Ogoni), Kanuri, Karakare, Kukele, Lopa, Nupe, Ogbia,

Tiv, Urhobo, Yala, Yoruba. Nevertheless, the exercise revealed potentially useful facts: the respondents are really Nigerians because everybody belongs to one linguistic group or the other; only very few students could name and locate up to 20 Nigerian languages; there is only very little intermarriage between linguistic groups; the respondents from large linguistic groups, such as Yoruba, Igbo, Ijo, etc. were unwilling, or felt shy to reveal their immediate sub-linguistic or dialect groups if these are considered inferior to the main groups: for example, many Ibos claimed Onitsha, Asaba, Owerri, etc. and seemed to shun Ika, Egbema, Abakaliki, Ngwa; the majority of the respondents proposed their respective languages as the national lingua franca: an overwhelming majority (97%) of them preferred English to remain the national lingua franca; Hausa was very grudgingly accorded a second place to English.

The actual field-work was undertaken in 1975-76 prior to the establishment of the 19 state structure for the country. In every case we made it a point to meet and interview local chiefs, state government officials and educational, religious or business establishments in order to collect our information straight from authentic sources. Here we had a sad experience. The officers of the various state Ministries concerned associated the research with the exercise of the creation of new states. Even with the presentation of the original letter of approval of the Research Project from the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Lagos, they still considered it an indirect way of attempting to split their states on linguistic or ethnic lines. After my personal failure in direct official approaches in Maiduguri, Sokoto, Calabar, Port-Harcourt, etc., I changed to an indirect method of approach by employing informants for specific assignments on part-time basis.

The employment of informants in obtaining and evaluating data quickened the tempo of the research. Fourteen of them were based in the following stations: Ilorin, Sokoto, Minna, Kaduna, Kano, Maiduguri, Yola, Jos, Makurdi, Benin, Warri, Ogoja, Calabar, Port-Harcourt. This method proved a most rewarding effort despite the expenses: the informants were indigenes of the areas to which they were assigned and were therefore not suspected of any adverse or subversive political moves and motives; they could penetrate areas that were inaccessible to cars and patiently obtain fairly accurate informations; they could employ assistants or sub-informants to accelerate the pace of coverage; based on the criteria of definitions, they could easily distinguish between languages and dialects or between true and faked links or claims or assertions; in terms of time and cost, their work was faster and more economical.

Very useful contacts were also made and established with the Institute of Linguistics P.O. Box 790 Jos which was later closed down in 1976 by the order of the Federal Military Government. I gathered very relevant informations from the Directors of the Institute: Mr. Richard K. Bergman and Dr. Ronald Stanford.

There is also need for careful evaluation of the data collected from a large number of sources. The sifting and winnowing exercise involved subjected both the data and the sources to a most vigorous scrutiny. This resulted in the elimination of over one hundred names from the list of languages collected: some could not be identified in actual field investigations; some were not languages but names of clans; some were considered to be dialects; some belonged to dialect clusters or language clusters; others were found to be alternative spellings and names of some languages already listed.

For the purposes of detailed analysis of the languages, the data collected is broken down into six parts:

1. Comprehensive data on Nigerian languages.
2. State by state distribution of Nigerian languages.
3. Nigerian languages with alternative spellings and names.
4. Dialects, dialect cluster, and language cluster in Nigerian languages.
5. Frontier languages of Nigeria.
6. Unidentifiable Nigerian language names.

CHAPTER 2

COMPREHENSIVE DATA ON NIGERIAN LANGUAGES

The elaborate fieldwork carried out during the survey had reduced to the barest minimum the factors of political expedience, prejudice and uncontrolled guess-work employed in some earlier writings.

For every language a reference name has been chosen. It carries a number. Under the main name, there are entries that require brief elaboration.

The second item in the entry is the location. It states catagorically where the language concerned is spoken. This information is given by naming the State, Province or Division and (in the northern states) the District or Emirate.

Territorial identity is a significant requirement in a linguistic survey of a pluri-linguistic state. Its usefulness becomes obvious when it comes to locating the linguistic groups in the field, that is, pinning them down territorially. However, linguistic groups who are nomadic in nature, for example, some Fulani and Maguza groups, are not necessarily tied to the land area. The linguistic or dialect territorial identity has historical connotation and is subject to "la loi du plus fort", that is, the law of the survival of the fittest in group land occupancy.

It must be emphasized, however, that the research deals with languages, and not ethnic groups as such. Ethnic groups and languages are not necessarily the same. There is no automatic correspondance between peoples and languages.

An ethnic group is a grouping based on birth or ganeological origin. It is, as pointed out by M. Ajato Gandonu in the 4th of February 1976 issue of *Daily Times* of Nigeria, "an objective criterion in so far as it relates to a social, mutually exclusive unit which recruits its membership by a naturally determined channel" of being born into the group. It has its root in the family which is its smallest natural unit. From here, in Nigerian context, it expands to include:

a) families,
b) extended families,
c) villages,
d) towns,
e) an "ethnos" or people.

Apart from very few exceptions, such as the Fulani, the ethnic group possesses therefore common territorial, cultural and historical identity, among other things. There is no restriction as to the extent of population or territory as these are dictated by the fortune and historical circumstances of each ethnic group over time. The ethnic concept, as it applies to Nigeria, is used in describing human grouping or people who are territorically identifiable as possessing cultural affinity or common social institutions, sharing common ancestry (kinship ties), creating and using a means of verbal communication or language, and possibly having a territory to which they would lay claim of

ownership.

I do not consider the ethnic group thus defined as a simple alternative word for "tribe", a pejorative term which I have deliberately dropped on account of its connotations in the works of some pioneers in anthropological, sociological and geographical fields.

It is clear from the criteria of definition above that the terms "language group", "tribal group", or "ethnic group" are not interchangeable, at least in the Nigerian context. Ethnic concept comprises language as a factor but not conversely. In many instances, a particular ethnic group speaks a specific language that no other group speaks, but there are instances where several ethnic groups speak the same language, and, in contrast, there are other instances where one ethnic group speaks several different languages. Hausa, for instance, is a language spoken as a first language by a number of ethnic groups such as Gobirawa, Zamfarawa, Adara, Arewa, Kebbawa and Aukoyawa. The Ijo, on the other hand, are an ethnic group who speak a cluster of languages: Kalabari, Nembe, Biseni, Kolokuma, etc.

The language factor must therefore be handled with care as the Nigerian field offers several examples of ethnic groups adopting other peoples' languages to the extent of abandoning their own. The languages adopted may be those of neighbours, vassals or conquerors. The Fulanis appear to continue to abandon their own language, Fulfulde, in favour of Hausa. In some areas, such as Gwari, the local language has been so eclipsed that the natives now use Hausa as their mother tongue. It is estimated that the number of those who speak Hausa as mother tongue in Kano City is more than 20% higher than those who belong ethnically to the Hausa. It is also said that the Efik, for instance, have so adopted and adapted an original Ibibio language to the extent of forgetting or neglecting original Efik. Here are cases where it is difficult to distinguish between ethnic and linguistic memberships of people. This is the reason why it was not easy deciding, during actual fieldwork, on exact demarcation lines between Gwari and Hausa, Yoruba and Yekhee (Etsako) speakers of Akoko-Edo area of Bendel State, Igbo and Ijo, Jukun and Fulani, Urhobo and Isoko, Kanuri and Hausa, or Ekoi and Efik. The length of occupation between earlier settlers and late arrivals resulting in mingling and fusion of peoples at the frontier zones poses serious demarcation problems as the validity of claims in many cases cannot be established. Language, like nature, abhors barriers or rigid boundaries.

The third entry for each language is an estimate of its population. Whenever possible, we have taken the figure given for population from official government figures. The census figures have been used as much as possible, but these have only been available for a comparatively small number of the languages. Frequently, census figures refer to ethnic groups or to geographical areas, rather than to languages and so peoples of related, but different, languages have been grouped together in one figure and there is no way of breaking this figure down into language components. Where we have been able to find a census figure, we have given it, even if it is an old one. We have given preference to an old census figure over other figures estimated more recently by individuals but where we have no means at all of checking the estimate.

In some instances, we have quoted from local authorities records. Occasionally, we have had access to tax records and these have been used. In such instances, the Institute of Linguistics Jos adopted a method of multiplying the number of adults paying tax by a factor of five to give a better idea of what the population was at the date of the tax period concerned.

Where it has been impossible to get any government figures, we have used

books of reference. The International African Institute has published a number of handbooks, both linguistic and ethnographical, and these contain population figures. We have used the volumes in the ethnographic series of the Institute and have quoted population estimates in those books, in default of any other sources. Similarly, we have used "The Languages of West Africa" by Westermann and Bryan where we have no other sources. Westermann and Bryan in most cases indicate where they obtained their population figures although the figures are old and obviously out of date. We have thought it better to quote figures for which a source can be indicated than estimates of today's figures for which there is no means of verification.

In every instance, we have given the source of the population figure and its date. The date of the source of information is of vital importance in using these population figures. A 1952 figure for one group may be smaller than a 1963 figure for another group, but in actual fact allowing for population growth, it may well be that the first group is larger than the second! The current rate of population growth for Africa as a whole is usually quoted as 2.5 per cent per annum and there is little doubt that Nigeria is above this average. A growth rate of 3 per cent per annum for instance will turn a 150,000 population into an appreciable figure in ten years. In some instances the only figures we could find are forty years old, so population growth will have increased them radically.

We want to draw these facts to the attention of the reader since otherwise the population figures could be very misleading. We decided to supply the population figures because it was thought that most users of these language Tables would like to know something about the population of the different languages. The choice proved to be a difficult one as there are no official figures which reflect the size of the population of all groups at any one point in recent time. Where there are official figures which would supersede those we have been able to quote, we would very much welcome such information to enable us to bring the figures up-to-date.

We are aware that the population figures are too low because population growth is a continuous process. This, coupled with the fact that we do not have population figures for many of the languages, means that if the populations quoted in the following Table were totalled up, the figure would be considerably lower than the present population of Nigeria. We have made no attempt to adjust the figures, apart from multiplying the number of taxpayers by a factor of five. We think it is preferable for the reader to make the necessary adjustments.

In the case of frontier languages, that is, languages which are also spoken within and outside Nigeria, the population figures in the Table do not include speakers living outside the country.

The sources of the population figures have been indicated as follows:

1) A date, for example, 1952, 1963, standing alone refers to the census of that date.
2) NAT: Native Authority Tribal census of the date given.
3) LA: Local Authority records of the date given.
4) TR: Local Authority tax reports of the date given (multiplied by five).
5) W & B: quoted by Westermann and Bryan 1952.
6) RGA: quoted by Robert G. Armstrong 1955.
7) PB: quoted by Paula Brown 1955.
8) REB: quoted by R.E. Bradbury 1957.
9) G & C: quoted by Harold D. Gunn and F.B. Conant, 1960.

10) F & J: quoted by Daryll Forde and G.I. Jones 1950
11) DF: quoted by Daryll Forde 1955 (being "active adult males" multiplied by 3½).
12) HDG: quoted by H.D. Gunn 1953/56.
13) UN: United Nations reports.

The fourth entry indicates the language family to which the language in question belongs. Languages are related to one another, some more closely, others more distantly. On the basis of these relationships, language families have been set up and within these families, various sub-divisions have been established. In the following Table we use the general classification of African languages first proposed by J.H. Greenberg. The majority of scholars studying African languages have accepted the main lines of this classification.

In it, Greenberg adopted the technique of mass comparison. Words from a very large number of languages were assembled and the similarity as to their sounds and meanings thoroughly examined. The closeness of the relationship between specific languages can be determined by the degree of similarity between the related words.

This classification of African languages distinguishes four major groups, called phyla, namely Afroasiatic, Koisan, Niger-Kordofanian and Nilo-Saharan. Within Nigeria, the majority of languages belong to the Niger-Kordofanian phylum, though there are substantial number of languages belonging to the Afroasiatic phylum and three languages belonging to Nilo-Saharan (Kanuri, Dendi and Zarma). Niger Kordofanian is divided into Niger-Congo and Kordofanian. There are no languages from the Kordofanian group in Nigeria.

The Niger-Congo family is further divided into West Atlantic (Fulfulde), Mande or Mandigo (Busa and Shanga), Gur (Baatonun or Bariba), Kwa (Yoruba, Edo, Nupe, Igbo, Idima, Ijo, Igala, Isekiri), Benue-Congo (Alege, Anaang, Berom) and Adamawa-Ubangian (Awak, Bali, Bangwinji). The majority of Nigerian languages belong to the Kwa, Benue-Congo and Adamawa-Ubangian families, though others within Niger-Congo are represented.

Two branches of the Afroasiatic are represented in Nigeria: these are Chadic and Semitic. Semitic is confined to one language: Shuwa Arabic. There are, however, a large number of Chadic languages.

A number of scholars have made important contributions to the continuing process of up-dating Greenberg's classification. These are, in particular, the work of Professors Carl Hoffmann and Kay Williamson of the Department of Linguistics and Nigerian Languages of the University of Ibadan, and to some extent, the work of Dr. K. Shimizu of the centre for the Study of Nigerian Languages, Ahmadu Bello University, Kano. The Institute of Linguistics Jos had also made its contribution in sorting out and compiling an up-to-date language family list of Nigerian languages.

The fifth entry is mainly a contribution of the Institute of Linguistics Jos which was an organisation with religious bias. The entry contains any information concerning publications in that language. Since such publications are very heterogeneous, they have been sorted into publications which have to do with literacy and which are of a more general nature and these are listed in the first part of the entry. Religious literature, such as translations of the Bible, hymnbooks, etc. are listed in the second part of the entry. With all publications we have listed the date of publication whenever this could be ascertained.

All publications in the first part are listed in date order, where this is known. Where no dates are known, publications to do with literacy such as primers and reading books are listed first and then other publications. Where

it is known that a literacy programme is being undertaken this is also noted. We are aware of the fact that these entries are incomplete and therefore request those who have additional information to send it to us.

Publications under the second part are arranged with any translations of the Bible or parts of the Bible coming first, and then other religious literature in date order. Where it is known that Bible translation is in progress, this has been indicated. In the case of languages in which the whole New Testament or Bible has been translated, we have not listed all small portions of Scripture that have been published, but have generally summarized this, giving the date by the first recorded Scripture translation, as in, "New Testament 1970, Scripture portions from 1927".

The list we present here is provisional. It is a summary of what is known at the moment about the languages spoken in Nigeria. It is therefore incomplete because information about some languages and dialects is scanty and it is not possible to obtain additional information. What we have done is an attempt to compile data about Nigerian languages from a large number of sources, both published and unpublished, written and oral. The work is then not definitive as it is still open to suggestions and comments.

The reference names in this Table are arranged alphabetically with the key which contains the following information:

1. Name of language.
2. Location by State, Province, Division, District or Emirate.
3. Population (where this is known).
4. Language classification.
5. General literature (if any).

TABLE 1: COMPREHENSION DATA ON NIGERIAN LANGUAGES

1) 1. Abanyom
   2. Cross River State, Ikom Division
   3. 3,850 (1953)
   4. Benue-Congo: Ekoid Bantu

2) 1. Abon
   2. Gongola State, Mambilla Division, Tigon District, Abong Town
   4. Benue-Congo: Bantoid: Non-Bantu: Ti-Batu group.

3) 1. Abua
   2. Rivers State, Abua/Odual and Ahoada Divisions
   3. 11,000 (1963)
   4. Benue-Congo: Cross River: Delta-Cross: Central Delta group.
   5. Reading and writing Book 1966;
      Primer L, 1971; Primer 2, 1973;
      3 post-primer books 1972, 1973;
      New Testament in press 1976;
      Scripture portions from 1967.

4) 1. Affade
   2. Borno State, Dikwa Division, Rann Kalabalge District
   3. Chadic: Biu-Mandara: Kotoko group; Dialect of Kotoko, a language of Chad.

5) 1. Agoi
2. Cross River State, Obubra Division
3. 3,650 (1953)
4. Benue-Congo: Cross River: Delta-Cross: Upper Cross group.

6) 1. Agwagwune
2. Cross River State, Akamkpa Division
4. Benue-Congo: Cross River: Delta Cross: Upper Cross group.

7) 1. Ake
2. Plateau State, Lafia Division, Assaikio District
4. Benue-Congo: Benue

8) 1. Akoko North
2. Ondo State, Akoko Division: Kwara State, Kabba Division, Ijumu District
4. Kwa: Yoruba group.

9) 1. Akpa-Yache
2. Benue State, Oturkpo Division, Akunga and Boju Districts; Cross River State, Ogoja Division
4. Kwa: Idoma group.

10) 1. Akpes
2. Ondo State, Akoko Division
4. Kwa: unclassified

11) 1. Akpet-Ehom
2. Cross River State, Akamkpa Division
4. Benue-Congo: Cross River: Delta Cross: Upper Cross group.

12) 1. Alago
2. Plateau State, Lafia Division, Doma, Keana, Obi, Awe and Assaikio Districts
3. 15,000 (1935 RGA)
4. Kwa: Idoma group
5. St. Mark 1929.

13) 1. Alege
2. Cross River State, Obudu Division
4. Benue-Congo: Cross River: Bendi

14) 1. Amo
2. Plateau State, Jos Division, Amo District: Kaduna State, Saminaka Division, Lere District
3. 3,550 (NAT. [illegible]
4. Benue-Congo: [illegible]stern Plateau.

15) 1. Anaang
2. Cross River State, Abak, Ikot Ekpene and Opobo Divisions
3. 246,000 (E & [illegible]4-5)
4. Benue-Congo: Cross River: Delta Cross: Lower Cross group.

16) 1. Angas
2. Plateau State, Pankshin Division, Pankshin, Wokkos, Ampan, Kabwir, Garran, Talipai, Chip and Amper Districts; Langtang Division, Kanam District
3. 55,250 (W & B)
4. Chadic: Western: Sura-Gerka Group: North Eastern

5. Reading and Writing book; Folktales (2) 1969; Trial Primer 1975; New Testament in press 1976; Scripture Portions from 1916.

17) 1. Arum-Chessu
2. Plateau State, Akwanga Division, Mama District
4. Benue-Congo: Benue.

18) 1. Aten
2. Plateau State, Jos Division, Jal District; Kaduna State, Jema'a Division, Moroa District
3. 4,000 (HDG: no date)
4. Benue-Congo: Eastern Plateau
5. St. Mark 1940.

19) 1.. Awak
2. Gongola State, Gombe Division, Kaltungo District
4. Adamawa: Waja group

20) 1. Ayu
2. Kaduna State, Jema'a Division and District
4. Benue-Congo: Eastern Plateau.

21) 1. Baatonun
2. Mainly in Benin Republic: also Kwara State, Borgu Division, Yashikira, Okuta, Ilesha and Gwanara Districts
4. Gur
5. Monthly newsletter published in Benin Republic:
St. Mark, 1957. St. John 1953; Bible translation in progress.

22) 1. Bade
2. Borno State, Bedde & Borno Divisions, Borsavi District, Kano State, Kadeja Division, Guri District
4. Chadic: Western: Bade group.

23) 1. Bakpinka
2. Cross River State, Akamkpa Division
3. It is reported to be dying out
4. Benue-Congo: Cross River: Delta Cross: Upper Cross group.

24) 1. Bali
2. Gongola State, Numan Division, Batta District at Bali
4. Adamawa: Yandang group.

25) 1. Bambuka
2. Gongola State, Muri Division, Wurkum District at Bambuka
4. Adamawa: Burak group.

26) 1. Bandawa-Minda
2. Gongola State, Muri Division, Wurkum and Lau Districts
4. Benue-Congo: Benue: Central Jukunoid.

27. 1. Banga
2. Sokoto State, Juru Division, Zuru-Donko area
3. 5,575 (1949 G & C)
4. Benue-Congo: Western Plateau

28. 1. Bangwinji
2. Bauchi State, Gombe Division, Dadiya District
4. Adamawa: Waja group.

29) 1. Barawa
2. Bauchi State, Bauchi Division
4. Chadic: Western: Southern Bauchi group: Western

30) 1. Barke
2. Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Ganjuwa District
4. Chadic: Western: Northern Bauchi group: South Eastern.

31) 1. Bashar
2. Plateau State, Langtang Division, Wase District
4. Benue-Congo: Benue.

32) 1. Bassa-Kaduna
2. Niger State, Minna Division
3. Benue-Congo: Western Plateau: Kamuku-Bassa group.

33) 1. Bassa-Kwomu
2. Benue State, Dekina Division, Bassa-Komo, Mozom and Dekina Districts, Ankpa Division, Ife District: Plateau State, Nasarawa Division, Toto and Loko Districts
3. 30,000 (1949-50 HDG)
4. Benue-Congo: Western Plateau: Kamuku-Bassa group
5. Literature is being produced; New Testament 1972; Scripture portions from 1946; Hymnbook.

34) 1. Bata
2. Gongola State, Divisions of Numan, Adamawa, Mubi and in Cameroun
4. Chadic: Central, Bata: Southern.

35) 1. Batu
2. Gongola State, Mambilla Division, Tigon District, Batu town and area, and in Cameroun
4. Benue-Congo: Bantoid: Non-Bantu: Tiv-Bantu group.

36) 1. Baushi
2. Niger State, Minna Division, Kuta and Tegina Districts
3. 2,650 (1949 HDG)
4. Benue-Congo: Western Plateau: Kamuku-Bassa group.

37) 1. Baya
2. Gongola State, Mambilla Division, Gashaka District, but mainly in Cameroun
3. 200 (LA 1965)
4. Adamawa Ubangian: Western group.

38) 1. Bekwarra
2. Cross River State, Ogoja Division
3. 27,500 (1953); 34,000 (1963)
4. Benue-Congo: Cross River: Bendi
5. Reading and Writing book 1965; Sounds and Syllables 1969; Picture book 1970; Post-Primer books 1970-75; Primers 1-4 1975; Literacy programme in progress: 11 Bible Story leaflets 1966-71; St. Mark 1976; Questions on St. Mark 1970; Come and Listen 1972; Ephesians, Philippians 1975; Bible translation in progress.

39) 1. Borom
2. Plateau State, Jos Division, Districts of Kabong, Jos, Gyel, Du, Vwang, Kuru, Foron, Bachit, Riyom, Heipang, Ropp and Fan; Kaduna State, Jema'a Division, Jema'a District

3. 54,500 (HDG)
4. Benue-Congo: Eastern Plateau
5. Folk Stories 1975; Trial Primer in 3 parts; Literacy programme in progress; Scripture portions from 1916; Hymnbook, Bible translation in progress.

40) 1. Bete
2. Gongola State, Wukavi Division, Ayikiben District, Bete town,
3. Language said to be dying out
4. Unclassified.

41) 1. Bette-Bendi
2. Cross River State, Obudu Division
3. 17,250 (1952); 36,800 (1963)
4. Benue-Congo: Cross River: Bendi
5. Primers 1-3; Literacy programme in progress; Bible translation also in progress.

42) 1. Bile
2. Gongola State, Numan Division, Batta District
4. Benue-Congo: Bantoid: Jarawan Bantu.

43) 1. Binawa
2. Kaduna State, Saminaka Division, Lere District
3. 220 (NAT 1949)
4. Benue-Congo: Western Plateau.

44) 1. Bitare
2. Gongola State, Mambilla Division, Tigon District, and in Cameroun
4. Benue-Congo: Bantoid: Non-Bantu: Tiv-Batu group.

45) 1. Bogham
2. Plateau State, Langtang Division, Kanam, Wase and Yergam Districts
3. 9,500 (W & B)
4. Chadic: Western: Southern Bauchi group: Eastern: Boghom sub-group.

46) 1. Bokkos
2. Plateau State, Pankshin Division, Ron and North and South Sura Districts
4. Chadic: Western: Ron group: East-Central.

47) 1. Bokyi
2. Cross River State, Ikom, Obudu and Ogoja Divisions, and in Cameroun
3. 43,000 (1963)
4. Benue-Congo: Cross River: Bendi
5. 6 Readers: Tests for the Readers: Teachers' Manuel 1972; Post-Primer books 1972-1975; Dictionary 1975; Literacy programme in progress; New Testament in press 1976; Scripture portions from 1972.

48) 1. Bole
2. Bauchi State, Gombe Division, Districts of Duku, Nafada, Kwami and Ako; Bauchi Division, Districts of Darazo and Kirfi
3. 32,000 (W & B)
4. Chadic: Western: Bole-Tangale group: Central
5. Some pamphlets.

49) 1. Buduma
2. Borno State, Borno Division; Islands of Lake Chad and mostly in the Republic of Chad
4. Chadic: Central: Kotoko group.

50) 1. Bumaji
2. Cross River State, Obudu Division
4. Benue-Congo: Cross River: Bendi.

51) 1. Bura
2. Borno State, Biu Division, Babur, East and West Bura and Askira Districts
3. 72,200 (W & B)
4. Chadic: Central: Bura group: Western
5. New Testament 1950; revision in progress, hymnbook.

52) 1. Burak
2. Bauchi State, Tangale-Waja Division, Kaltungo District
4. Adamawa.

53) 1. Busa
2. Kwara State, Borgu Division, Districts of Wawa, Busa, Babana, Yashikira; Sokoto State, Gwandu Division; and in Benin Republic
4. Mande: South-Eastern Division
5. 2 trial Primers and 1 Post-Primer 1970 in Bakobaru; Literacy programmes in progress in Bakobaru and Boko;
St. Mark, Titus 1970 in Bakobaru, hymnbook; Bible translation in progress in Bakobaru and Boko.

54) 1. Buta-Ningi
2. Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Ningi District
3. Language dying out
4. Benue-Congo: Western Plateau: Northern group

55) 1. Chakfem-Mushere
2. Plateau State, Pankskin Division, Ron District
4. Chadic: Western: Sura-Gerka group: North-Western.

56) 1. Chamba Daka
2. Gongola State, Muri Division, Districts of Dakka, Jalingo, Mutum Biu, Bakundi and Gassol; Ganye (southern) Division, Districts of Toungo, Yelwa, Sugu, Mbulo, Jada and Leko; Adamawa Division, Districts of Binyeri, Wafanga and Verre; and in Cameroun
3. 66,000 (1952); estimated at 20,000 in Cameroun
4. Adamawa: Sama group
5. St. Mark 1933, Old Testament Stories 1937.

57) 1. Chamba Leko
2. Gongola State, Wukari Division, Suntai Distric and Ganye (Southern) Division, Leko District
4. Adamawa: Vere-Duru group.

58) 1. Cham-Mwana
2. Bauchi State, Gombe Division, Cham and Dadiya Districts
4. Adamawa: Waja group.

59) 1. Chara
2. Plateau State, Jos Division, Buji District
3. 735 (1936 HDG)
4. Benue-Congo: Eastern Plateau

60) 1. Chawai
2. Kaduna State, Kachia Division, Zangon Katab District
3. 10,200 (1931 HDG)
4. Benue-Congo: Eastern Plateau
5. St. John 1923, St. Mark and St. John 1932.

61) 1. Chip
2. Plateau State, Pankshin Division, South Sura and Japal Districts
4. Chadic: Western: Sura-Gerka group: North-Western.

62) 1. Chokobo
2. Plateau State, Jos Division, Jere District
3. 425 (1936 HDG)
4. Benue-Congo: Western Plateau: Northern Jos group

63) 1. Chomo-Karim
2. Gongola State, Muri Division, Districts of Jalingo, Gassol, Lau, Wurkum and Muri
3. Benue-Congo: Benue: Central Jukunoid.

64) 1. Dadiya
2. Bauchi State, Gombe Division, Dadiya District
4. Adamawa: Waja group.

65) 1. Daffo-Batura
2. Plateau State, Pankshin Division, Ron and Monguna Districts
4. Chadic: Western: Ron group: Central.

66) 1. Defaka
2. Rivers State, Opobo Division, Nkoro town
4. Niger-Congo: unclassified.

67) 1. Degema
2. Rivers State, Kalabari Division
4. Kwa: Delta Edo
5. Reading and Writing Book 1966; also included in Rivers Readers Project (forthcoming).

68) 1. Dendi
2. Some in Sokoto State, Argungu Division, Dendi District, and Gwandu Division, Illo District; Mostly in Benin Republic, and Niger Republic,
4. Nilo-Saharan: Songhai.

69) 1. Deno
2. Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Ganjuwa District
3. 9,900 (LA 1971)
4. Chadic: Western: Bole-Tangale group: Western.

70) 1. Dera
2. Gongola State, Numan Division, Shellem and Shani Districts
3. 11,300 (W & B)
4. Chadic: Western: Bole-Tangale group: South Eastern
5. St. Mark and Scripture portions 1937.

71) 1. Dghwede
2. Borno State, East Gwoza District.
3. 19,000 (1963); 7,900 (TR. 1970)
4. Chadic: Central: Mandara group
5. Bible translation in progress.

72) 1. Dirim
2. Gongola State, Muri Division, Bakundi District; Mambilla Division, Gashaka District; and Ganye (Southern) Division, Toungo District.
3. 7,900 (1952)
4. Adamawa: Sama group.

73. 1. Dirya
2. Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Ningi and Ganjuwa Districts
3. 3,750 (LA 1971)
4. Chadic: Western: North Bauchi group: North Western.

74) 1. Doka
2. Kaduna State, Kachia Division, Dajura District
4. Benue-Congo: Eastern Plateau.

75) 1. Doko-Uyanga
2. Cross River State, Akamkpa Division
4. Benue-Congo: Cross River: Delta Cross: Upper Cross group.

76) 1. Dong
2. Gongola State, Adamawa Division, Binyeri District
4. Adamawa: unclassified.

77) 1. Duguza
2. Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Jema'a District
3. 500 (LA 1971)
4. Benue-Congo: Western Plateau: Northern Jos group.

78) 1. Duka
2. Sokoto State, Zura Division, Rijau District; Yauri Division, Sokoto Division, Kuyambana District; and Niger State, Kontagora Division
3. 19,700 (1949 G & C)
4. Benue-Congo: Western Plateau
5. Primer I 1973; Literacy programme in progress; St. Mark in first draft 1974; Bible translation in progress.

79) 1. Dulbu
2. Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Jungur District
3. 80 (LA 1971)
4. Benue-Congo: Bantoid: Jarawan Bantu.

80) 1. Dungi
2. Kaduna State, Saminaka Division, Lere District
3. 310 (NAT 1949)
4. Benue-Congo: Western Plateau.

81) 1. Ebira
2. Kwara State, Igbirra Division, Kogi Division, Koton Kariji District; Plateau State, Nasarawa Division, Districts of Gadabuke, Toto and Umaisha; and Bendel State, Akoko-Edo Division
3. 154,000 (1952 P.B.)

4. Kwa: Ebira group
5. Reading and Writing Book 1972; Pre-Primer 1973; 3 Primers 1972-3; 3 Post-Primers 1974; Christmas Story 1972; Easter Story 1972: St. John, 1970; St. Matthew 1891; Bible translation in progress.

82) 1. Edo
2. Bendel State, Benin East and West Divisions
3. 203,000 (1952)
4. Kwa: North-Central Edo
5. New Testament in final stages 1976; Scripture portions from 1914.

83) 1. Efik
2. Cross River State, Calabar and Akamkpa Divisions; and in Cameroun
3. 26,300 (F & J) spoken as a second language by 1,300,000 (UN: 1960)
4. Benue-Congo: Cross River: Delta-Cross: Lower Cross group.
5. Many books; Bible, latest revision 1964, Scripture portions from 1850.

84) 1. Efutop
2. Cross River State, Ikom Division
3. 8,740 (1953)
4. Benue-Congo: Bantoid: Ekoid Bantu.

85) 1. Eggon
2. Plateau State, Akwanga Division, Eggon District; Lafia Division, Assaiko District
4. Benue-Congo: Benue
5. 2 Readers; New Testament 1975; Scripture portions from 1935; Hymnbook.

86) 1. Egun
2. Lagos States, Badagry Division; also in Benin Republic.
3. Kwa: Ewe group
5. Bible 1923; Scripture portions from 1886; Catechism 1885.

87) 1. Ejagham
2. Cross River State, Akamkpa, Ikom and Calabar Divisions; and in Cameroun
3. 94,350 (W & B)
4. Benue-Congo: Bantoid: Ekoid Bantu.

88) 1. Ekajuk
2. Cross River State, Ogoja Division
4. Benue-Congo: Bantoid: Ekoid Bantu
5. Reading and Writing Book 1967; 3 Primers 1969; Various Post-Primer books; New Testament 1971; Scripture portions from 1969.

89) 1. Ekit
2. Cross River State, Eket Division
3. 22,000 (W & B)
4. Benue-Congo: Cross River: Delta-Cross: Lower Cross group.

90) 1. Ekpeye
2. Rivers State, Ahoada and Ogba-Egbema Divisions
3. 20,000 (1953)
4. Kwa: Lower Niger group
5. Rivers Readers Projets: Dictionary of Proper Names: Reading and Writing Book; Bible translation in progress.

91) 1. Eleme
2. Rivers State, Tai-Eleme Division
4. Benue-Congo: Cross River: Delta-Cross: Ogoni group
5. Rivers Readers Projetc; Reading and Writing Book 1973; Reader I 1972.

92) 1. Eloyi
2. Plateau State, Nasarawa Division, Nasarawa, Loko and Ago Districts; Lafia Division, Doma District; Benue State, Oturkpo Division, Agatu District
4. Benue-Congo: Benue
5. Primer; Hymnbook.

93) 1. Emai-Iuleha-Ora
2. Bendel State, Divisions of Owan, Akoko-Edo, Ishan, West and East Benin
3. 48,000 (1952)
4. Kwa: North Central Edo
5. Four gospels 1908-10.

94) 1. Emane
2. Cross River State, Obudu Division
4. Benue-Congo: Bantoid: Non-Bantu: Tiv-Batu group.

95) 1. Engenni
2. Rivers State, Ahoada and Yenegoa Divisions
4. Kwa: Delta Edo group
5. Reading and Writing Book 1966; 3 Primers 1972 to 1975; 2 Post-Primers; New Testament in Final stages 1976; Scripture portions from 1968.

96) 1. Epie
2. Rivers state, Yenagoa Division
4. Kwa: Delta Edo group
5. Rivers Readers Project; Reader I; Reading and Writing Book.

97) 1. Eruwa
2. Bendel State, Isoko Division
4. Kwa: South Western Edo

98) 1. Esan
2. Bendel State, Divisions of Ishan, East Benin, Agbor and Aniocha
3. 183,000 (1952)
4. Kwa: North Central Edo
5. St. Luke 1974; Bible translation in progress.

99) 1. Etulo
2. Benue State, Katsina Ala Division, Shitive and Nyam Atsor Districts
3. 2,900 (1952 RGA)
4. Kwa: Idoma group
5. Etulo/English diglot of Etulo customs; Bible translation in progress.

100) 1. Evant
2. Cross River State, Obudu Division
4. Benue-Congo: Bantoid: Non-Bantu: Tiv-Batu group.

101) 1. Fali
2. Gongola State, Mubi Division, Mubi District: mainly in Cameroun
3. 23,600 in Nigeria (1952). (This figure may include some dialects of Kamwe and Vimtim)
4. Chadic: Central: Higi group.

102) 1. Fulfulde
2. Scattered throughout the Northern States: also in other countries of West Africa from Senegal, Gambia and Guinea on the Atlantic, through Mali, Upper Volta, Niger and Northern Nigeria (particularly in Gongola State, Adamawa Division) to Chad and Cameroun, with considerable numbers also in Southern Mauritania, and the northern parts of Sierra Leone, Ghana and Benin
3. 3,000,000 in Nigeria (1952)
4. West Atlantic: Northern Branch: Senegal group
5. New Testament 1964 in Benin Republic; Old Testament in progress; New Testament 1968 in Cameroun.

103) 1. Fyam
2. Plateau State, Pankshin Division, Gindiri, North Sura and Kadun Districts
3. 7,700 (J & B)
4. Benue-Congo: Eastern Plateau.

104) 1. Fyer
2. Plateau State, Pankshin Division, Fier and North and South Sura Districts
4. Chadic: Western: Ron group: Eastern.

105) 1. Ga'anda
2. Gongola State, Adamawa Division, Ga'anda District
3. 7,600 (1952)
4. Chadic: Central: Tera group: Eastern.

106) 1. Gade
2. Plateau State, Nasarawa Division, Gadabuka and Loko Districts: Niger State, Abuja Division, Kuje District
3. 3,800 (1919 G & C)
4. Kwa: Niger-Kaduna group.

107) 1. Galambi
2. Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Galembi District
4. Chadic: Western: Bole-Tangale group: Western

108) 1. Gengle
2. Gongola State, Adamawa Division, Mayo Belwa District
4. Adamawa: Yandang group.

109) 1. Gera
2. Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Galembi and Ganjuwa Districts
3. 13,300 (LA 1971)
4. Chadic: Western: Bole Tangale group: Western.

110) 1. Geruma
2. Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Districts of Ganjuwa, Jama'a and Zungur
3. 4,700 (LA 1971)
4. Chadic: Western: Bole-Tangale group: Western.

111) 1. Ghotuo
2. Bendel State, Owan and Akoko-Edo Divisions
3. 9,000 (1952)
4. Kwa: North Central Edo.

112) 1. Glavda
2. Borno State, East Gwoza District
3. 20,000 (1963)
4. Chadic: Central: Mandara group
5. St. Mark 1967; Bible Stories 1966; Hymns and Psalms 1966.

113) 1. Goemai
2. Plateau State, Shendam Division, Shendam, Gerkawa and Namu Districts; Langtang Division, Resettlement District; Lafia Division, Assaiko District.
3. 13,500 (W & B)
4. Chadic: Western: Sura-Gerka group: Southern
5. Grammar and Dictionary 1963.

114) 1. Gokana
2. Rivers State, Bori Division
4. Benue-Congo: Cross River: Delta Cross: Ogoni group
5. Rivers Readers Project; Reader I; Reading and Writing Book: Hymnbook.

115) 1. Gongla
2. Gongola State, Adamawa Division, Jereng District
4. Adamawa: Mumuye group.

116) 1. Gubi
2. Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Zungur District
3. 300 (LA 1971)
4. Benue-Congo: Bantoid: Jarawan Bantu.

117) 1. Gude
2. Gongola State, Mubi Division, Mubi District; Borno State, Uba District; and in Cameroun
3. 28,000 (1952)
4. Chadic: Central: Bata-Gude group: Gude sub-group
5. Three Primers 1974; Folk tales 1973; Literacy programme in progress; St. Mark 1974; Bible translation in progress.

118) 1. Gudu
2. Gongola State, Adamawa Division, Song District
3. 1,200 (LA 1971)
4. Chadic: Central: Bata-Gude group: Bata sub-group: South Eastern.

119) 1. Guduf
2. Borno State, East Gwoza District
3. 21,300 (1963)
4. Chadic: Central: Mandara group
5. 47 hymns and psalms 1966.

120) 1. Gure-Kahugu
2. Kaduna State, Saminaka Division, Lere District
3. 5,000 (W & B)
4. Benue-Congo: Western Plateau.

121) 1. Gurmana
2. Niger State, Minna Division, Kurmin Gurmana District
4. Benue-Congo: Western Plateau: Kamuku-Bassa group.

122) 1. Guruntum-Mbaaru
2. Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Districts of Duguri, Galembi and Fali
4. Chadic: Western: Southern Bauchi group: Eastern: Guruntum sub-group.

123) 1. Gwa
2. Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Lame District
3. Less than 1,000 (LA 1971)
4. Benue-Congo: Bantoid: Jarawan Bantu

124) 1. Gwandara
2. Niger State, Abuja Division, Abuja and Buari Districts; Kaduna State, Kagarko District; Plateau State, Nasarawa Division, Nasarawa District; Keffi Division, Districts of Karshi, Karu, Uke, Keffi and Kokona; Lafia Division, Obi and Assaiko Districts; Akwanga Division, Eggon and Mada Districts
3. 12,000 (1952)
4. Chadic: Western: Hausa group.

125) 1. Gwari
2. Niger State, Minna and Abuja Divisions, Agaie-Lapai Districts; Kaduna State, Birnin Gwari Division, Chikun District; Plateau State, Nasarawa Division, Districts of Nasarawa, Gadabuke, Toto, Loko and Umaiska; Keffi Division, Gitata and Karu Districts
3. 200,000 (1952 G & B)
4. Kwa: Niger-Kaduna group.

126) 1. Gwomu
2. Gongola State, Muri Division, Wurkum District
4. Adamawa: Burak group.

127) 1. Gyem
2. Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Lame District
3. 100 (LA 1971)
4. Benue-Congo: Western Plateau: Northern group.

128) 1. Hausa
2. Spoken as a first language in large areas of Sokoto, Kaduna, Kano and Bauchi States, and in Niger Republic; also as a regional language (Lingua Franca) in much of those areas where it is not spoken as a first language, eg. in the Middle Belt of Nigeria, and in Benin Republic.
3. 5,700,000 (1952) as a first language
4. Chadic: Western: Hausa group
5. Large amount of literature in circulation and being produced; Bible 1932 and 1957; New Testament (Linjila) 1965 and 1972; Old Testament new translation in progress; Scripture portions from 1953; some scripture portions in Ajami script; Moslem literature in Ajami script.

129) 1. Horom
2. Plateau State, Pankshin Division, Richa and Tof Districts
4. Benue-Congo: Eastern Plateau.

130) 1. Hwana
2. Gongola State, Adamawa Division, Ga'anda District
4. Chadic: Central: Tera group: Eastern.

131) 1. Hyam
2. Kaduna State, Jema'a Division, Jema'a and Kwoi Districts; Kachia Division, Kachia and Zangon Katab Districts
4. Benue-Congo: Eastern Plateau
5. St. Matthew, St. Mark 1923, Acts (n.d) in Ham dialect.

132) 1. Ibami
2. Cross River State, Akamkpa Division
4. Benue-Congo: Cross River: Delta-Cross: unclassified

133) 1. Ibibio
2. Cross River State, Divisions of Opobo, Itu, Uyo, Etiman, Oron, Ikot Ekpene and Eket
3. 800,000 (1952) (?may include Efik ?); 283,000 (1945 F & J)
4. Benue-Congo: Cross River: Delta Cross: Lower Cross group
5. Efik used as the literary language.

134) 1. Ibino
2. Cross River State, Eket and Oron Divisions
4. Benue-Congo: Cross River: Delta Cross: Lower Cross group.

135) 1. Icen
2. Gongola State, Wukari Division, Districts of Gayam, Gindin Dutse, Likam and Suntai; Mambilla Division, Ichen District
4. Benue-Congo: Benue: Central Jukunoid.

136) 1. Icheve
2. Cross River State, Obudu Division
4. Benue-Congo: Bantoid: Non-Bantu: Tiv-Batu group.

137) 1. Idoma
2. Benue State, Oturkpo Division
3. Kwa: Idoma group.

138) 1. Idon
2. Kaduna State, Kachia Division, Kajuru District
4. Benue-Congo: Eastern Plateau.

139) 1. Igala
2. Benue State, all of Ankpa and Idah Divisions, Dekina Division, Districts of Dekina, Okuru and Biraidu; Bendel State, Ishan Division around Ilushi, Aniocha, Division (formerly Asaba) at Ebu; Anambra State, Anambra Division.
3. 295,000 (1952)
4. Kwa: Yoruba group
5. Grammar (out of print); Primers 1-6; 2 Readers; literacy programme in progress; Bible 1970, revision in progress; New Testament 1966 (latest edition); Scripture portions from 1924; New Testament Concordance; 8 Sunday School Teachers' Manuels; 12 Bible Correspondence courses; hymnbook; other Christian books; tracts and booklets.

140) 1. Igbo
2. Anambra State, Divisions of Igbo-Eze, Nsukka, Isi Uzo, Anambra, Udi, Enugu, Nkanu, Njikoka, Awgu, Onitsha, Aguata, Idemmili, Nnewi, Ihiala; Imo State, Divisions of Mgbidi, Nkwere, Mbano, Etiti, Bende, Ohafia, Arochukwu, Oguta, Mbaise, Mbaitolu-Ikeduru, Umuahia, Owerri, Ngwa, Aba, Ukwa, Afikpo, Okigwe; Rivers State, Divisions of Etche, Bonny and Ogba-Egbena; Bendel State, Aniocha, Aboh and Ika Divisions
3. 5,500,000 (1952). (This may include the whole language cluster).
4. Kwa: Lower Niger group
5. A large amount of old and current literature too numerous to list separately; In Eche and Egbema, under the Rivers State Readers Project, there are Reading and Writing Book and Reader I in each dialect; Isuana dialect: Scripture portions 1860-66; Bonny dialect: Scripture portions 1892-1900; Unwana dialect: Scripture portions 1899-1907; Onitsha dialect: Scripture portions 1893-1906, New Testament 1900, and 1906; Union Igbo: Bible 1913, 1952, 1960, New Testament 1908, 1913 and Scripture portions; New Translation of the whole Bible in progress.

141) 1. Igede
2. Benue State, Oturkpo Division, Districts of Egedde, Ito, Worku and Oturkpo; Cross River State, Ogoja Division
3. 70,000 (1952 RGA)
4. Kwa: Idoma group
5. Writing Book 1966; Primer 1975; literacy programme in progress; Scripture portions from 1937; Bible translation in progress, Hymnbook; Catholic Catechism.

142) 1. Ijo
2. Rivers State, Divisions of Kalabari, Bonny, Okoika, Brass, Yenagoa, Oporoma and Koluama Divisions; Cross River, Opobo Division; Bendel State, Western Ijaw and West Benin Divisions; Ondo State, Okitiofupa Division.
3. Total estimated population 156,000 (W & B)
4. Kwa: Ijo group
5. Primers, Readers, Bible Translations, various prayer and hymnbooks.

143) 1. Ikpeshi
2. Bendel State, Etsako Division
4. Kwa: North Central Edo.

144) 1. Iku-Gora-Ankwa
2. Kaduna State, Kachia Division, Kachia District
4. Benue-Congo: Eastern Plateau.

145) 1. Ikulu
2. Kaduna State, Kachia Division, Zangon Matab District
3. 6,000 (NAT 1949)
4. Benue-Congo: Eastern Plateau.

146) 1. Irigwe
2. Plateau State, Jos Division, Miango and Kwan Districts
3. 13,500 (HDG)
4. Benue-Congo: Eastern Plateau
5. Various Scripture portions between 1923 and 1936.

147) 1. Isekivi
2. Bendel State, Warri and West Benin Divisions
3. 33,000 (1952)
4. Kwa: Yoruba group
5. 2 Primers 1907 and 1956, new Primer 1975; Scripture portions from 1945; Bible translation in progress; hymnbook, prayer book 1909/1974.

148) 1. Isoko
2. Bendel State, Isoko and Eastern Urhobo Divisions
3. At least 74,000 (1952 REB)
4. Kwa: South-Western Edo
5. Readers 1954-1958; Adult Education pamphlets; Bible due 1976; New Testament and Psalms 1970; hymnbook.

149) 1. Ivbie North-Okpela-Atte
2. Bendel State, Etsako and Akoko-Edo Divisions
3. 14,500 (1952)
4. Kwa: North Central Edo.

150) 1. Izarek
2. Plateau State, Jos Division, Karawa, Gwong, Forum, Gashish and Jal Districts; Kadima State, Jema'a Division, Jema'a District
3. 22,000 (LA 1971)
4. Benue-Congo: Eastern Plateau
5. 2 gospels 1940.

151) 1. Jaku
2. Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Galembi District
4. Benue-Congo: Bantoid: Jarawan Bantu

152) 1. Janji
2. Plateau State, Jos Division, Rukuba District
3. 360 (NAT 1950)
4. Benue-Congo: Western Plateau: Northern Jos group.

153) 1. Janjo
2. Gongola State, Muri Division, Wurkum District
3. 6,100 (1952)
4. Adamawa: Janjo group.

154) 1. Jara
2. Borno State, Biu Division, Tera District; Bauchi State, Gombe Division, Yamaltu District
4. Chadic: Central: Tera group: Western.

155) 1. Jarawa
2. Bauchi State; Gongola State; Plateau State
4. Benue-Congo: Bantoid: Jarawan Bantu.

156) 1. Jera
2. Plateau State, Jos Division, Jere and Buji Districts; Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Lame District
4. Benue-Congo: Western Plateau: Northern Jos group.

157) 1. Jidda-Abu
2. Plateau State, Akwanga Division, Wamba District
4. Benue-Congo: Benue.

158) 1. Jimbin
2. Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Ganjuwa District
3. 1,500 (LA 1971)
4. Chadic: Western: Northern Bauchi group.

159) 1. Jimi
2. Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Ganjuwa District
3. 250 (LA 1971)
4. Chadic: Western: Southern Bauchi group: Eastern.

160) 1. Jiru-Kir
2. Gongola State, Muri Division, Jalingo District
4. Benue-Congo: Benue: Central Jukunoid.

161) 1. Jorto
2. Plateau State, Shendam Division, Shendam District at Dokan Kasuwa
4. Chadic: Western: Sura-Gerka group: North Western.

162) 1. Ju
2. Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Jungur District
3. 150 (LA 1971)
4. Chadic: Western: Southern Bauchi group: Eastern: Guruntum sub-group.

163) 1. Junkun
2. Gongola State, Divisions of Wukari and Muri; Plateau State, Langtang and Lafia Divisions; Benue State, Makurdi Division.
4. Benue-Congo: Benue: Central Jukunoid.

164) 1. Kadora
2. Kaduna State, Kachia Division, Districts of Kajuru, Kachia and Chikun; Niger State, Minna Division
3. 22,000 (NAT 1949)
4. Benue-Congo: Eastern Plateau

165) 1. Kagoma
2. Kaduna State, Jema'a Division, Jema'a District
3. 6,250 (1934 HDG)
4. Benue-Congo: Eastern Plateau.

166) 1. Kaivi
2. Kaduna State, Saminaka Division, Haura District
3. 650 (NAT 1949)
4. Benue-Congo: Western Plateau.

167) 1. Kaje
2. Kaduna State, Kachia Division, Zangon Katab District; Jema'a Division, Jema'a and Kagoro Districts
3. 26,600 (NAT 1949)
4. Benue-Congo: Eastern Plateau
5. Literacy programme in progress, trial Primers 1974-5; Kaje alphabet book 1972; Bible translation in progress; Bible stories 1972.

168) 1. Kaka
2. Seasonal immigrants from Cameroun into Antere and other border villages of Gongola State, Mambilla Division, Mambilla District
4. Benue-Congo: Grasslands Bantu.

169) 1. Kam
2. Gongola State, Muri Division, Bakundi District
4. Adamawa: Kam group.

170) 1. Kamantam
2. Kaduna State, Kachia Division, Zangon Katab District
3. 3,600 (NAT 1949)
4. Benue-Congo: Eastern Plateau.

171) 1. Kambari
2. Sokoto State, Zuru and Yauri Divisions: Niger State, Kontagora Division, and Kwara State, Borgu Division, Districts of Agwarra, Babana and Wawa
3. 67,000 (W & B)
4. Benue-Congo: Western Plateau: Kambari group.

172) 1. Kamkam
2. Gongola State, Mambilla Division, Mambilla District, Kamkam town; and in Cameroun
3. 800 (W & B)
4. Benue-Congo: Bantoid: Non-Bantu: Mambila-Vute group.

173) 1. Kamo
2. Bauchi State, Gombe Division, Kaltungo and West Tangale Districts
3. 3,000
4. Adamawa: Waja group.

174) 1. Kamuku
2. Niger State, Kontagora and Minna Divisions; Kaduna State, Birnin Gwari Division; Sokoto State, Sokoto and Zuru Divisions
3. 16,500
4. Benue-Congo: Western Plateau: Kamuku-Bassa group.

175) 1. Kamwe
2. Gongola State, Mubi Division, Michika and Madagali Districts; and into Cameroun
3. 64,000 (1952); estimated at 23,000 in Cameroun
4. Chadic: Central: Higi group
5. Folktales 1970; Reading Book 1970; Primer 1 1974; Primer 2 1976; New Testament 1975.

176) 1. Kana
2. Rivers State, Khana, Bori and Tai-Eleme Divisions
4. Benue-Congo: Cross River: Delta Cross: Ogoni group.
5. Rivers Readers Project Reader 1 1971; Bible 1968; New Testament 1961; Scripture portions from 1930; hymnbook 1938; Methodist Book of offices 1963; Catechism 1932.

177) 1. Kanufi-Kaningkon-Nindem
2. Kaduna State, Jema'a Division, Jema'a District
4. Benue-Congo: Eastern Plateau.

178) 1. Kanuri
2. Borno State, Divisions of Borno and Dikwa; Kano State, Hadeja Division, Birniwa District; and in Niger and Chad Republics; Used as a regional language in neighbouring areas
3. 1,300,00 (1952)

4. Nilo-Saharan: Saharan
5. Primers before 1938; other books, tests and scripts 1951-1976; Scripture portions 1853 in Kanuri/English/Arabic/Hausa; St. John 1949 and 1965, St. John in Ajami script 1965; Old Testament stories; various booklets and tracts; Pilgrim's Progress.

179) 1. Karakare
2. Bauchi State, Katagum Division, Dagauda and Jalam Districts; Borno State, Fika Division, Potiskum and Fika Districts
3. 39,000 (W & B)
4. Chadic: Western: Bole-Tangale group: Northern
5. Some tracts in dialect of Jelaselum.

180) 1. Karfa
2. Plateau State, Akwanga Division, Mama District
4. Chadic: Western: Ron group: Western.

181) 1. Kariya
2. Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Ganjuwa District
3. 2,200 (LA 1971)
4. Chadic: Western: Northern Bauchi group: South-Eastern.

182) 1. Katab
2. Kaduna State, Kachia and Jema'a Divisions, Kagoro, Moroa, Jema'a, Zangon Katab Districts.
4. Benue-Congo: Eastern Plateau.

183) 1. Kiballo
2. Kaduna State, Saminaka Division, Kauru District
3. 335 (NAT 1949)
4. Benue-Congo: Western Plateau.

184) 1. Kila
2. Gongola State, Mambilla Division, Mambilla District (Blacksmiths' dialect)
4. Benue-Congo: Bantoid: Non-Bantu: Mambila-Vute group.

185) 1. Kilba
2. Gongola State, Adamawa Division, Kilba District
3. 32,000 (1952)
4. Chadic: Central: Bura group: Eastern
5. Literacy programme in progress; Bible translation in progress; St. Mark 1976.

186) 1. Kinuku
2. Kaduna State, Saminaka Division, Kauru District
3. 460 (NAT 1949)
4. Benue-Congo: Western Plateau.

187) 1. Kiong
2. Cross River State, Calabar and Akamkpa Divisions
3. Spoken only by old people, younger generation speak Efik
4. Benue-Congo: Cross River: Delta Cross: Upper Cross group.

188) 1. Kir-Balar
2. Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Zungur District
3. 360 (LA 1971: Kir only)
4. Chadic: Western: Southern Bauchi group: Eastern: Boghom sub-group.

189) 1. Kirifi
2. Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Kirfi District
4. Chadic: Western: Bole-Tangale group: Western.

190) 1. Kitimi
2. Kaduna State, Saminaka Division, Kauru District
3. 635 (NAT 1949)
4. Benue-Congo: Western Plateau.

191) 1. Koenoem
2. Plateau State, Pankshin Division, Chip and South Sura Districts; Shendam Division, Shendam District
4. Chadic: Western: Sura-Gerka group: Southern.

192) 1. Kofyar
2. Plateau State, Shendam Division, Districts of Kofyar, Dimmuk, Shendam and Namu; Pankshin Division, South Sura group
4. Chadic: Western: Sura-Gerka group: North-Western.

193) 1. Kohumono
2. Cross River State, Obubra Division, Ediba
3. 11,870 (1952)
4. Benue-Congo: Cross River: Delta Cross: Upper Cross group.

194) 1. Koma
2. Gongola State, Ganye (Southern) Division, Koma Yomni District, Atlantika Mountains and into Cameroun
3. Majority in Cameroun
4. Adamawa: unclassified.

195) 1. Kono
2. Kaduna State, Saminaka Division, Kauru District,
3. 1,550 (NAT 1949)
4. Benue-Congo: Western Plateau.

196) 1. Koro
2. Kaduna State, Kachia Division, Kagoro District, Jema'a Division, Kwoi District; Niger State, Minna Division
3. 35,000 (1949 HDG, but this includes Migili)
4. Benue-Congo: Eastern Plateau.

197) 1. Korop
2. Cross River State, Galabar and Akamkpa Divisions; and into Cameroun
4. Benue-Congo: Cross River: Delta Cross: Upper Cross group.

198) 1. Kotopo
2. Gongola State, Ganye (Southern) Division, Toungo District; and in Cameroun
4. Adamawa: Vere-Duru group.

199) 1. Kpan
2. Gongola State, Wukari Division, Districts of Kato Bagha, Wukari, Suntai, Gayan, Gindin Dutse and Likam; Mambilla Division, Lehen District
4. Benue-Congo: Benue: Central Jukunoid.

200) 1. Kubi
2. Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Ganjuwa District
4. Chadic: Western: Bole-Tangale group: Western.

201) 1. Kuda-Chamo
2. Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Ningi District
3. Language dying out
4. Benue-Congo: Western Plateau: Northern group.

202) 1. Kugama
2. Gongola State, Adamawa Division, Wafanga District
4. Adamawa: Yandang group.

203) 1. Kugbo
2. Rivers State, Abua/Odual, Ogbia and Brass Divisions
4. Benue-Congo: Cross River, Delta Cross: Central Delta group.

204) 1. Kukele
2. Cross River State, Ogoja Division: Anambra State, Ishielu Division; and in Cameroun
3. 31,700 (1953)
4. Benue-Congo: Cross River: Delta Cross: Upper Cross group
5. Primer in 5 parts: Post-Primer books drafted; literacy programme in progress; Bible translation in progress.

205) 1. Kulere
2. Plateau State, Pankshin Division, Tof, Richa and Kamwai Districts,
4. Chadic: Western: Ron group: Southern.

206) 1. Kulung
2. Gongola State, Muri Division, Lau and Wurkum Districts at Bambur, Balasa, Kirim; Wukari Division, Kinda Kuvyo District at Gada Mayo
4. Benue-Congo: Bantoid: Jarawan Bantu
5. Primer 1924; Scripture portions from 1926 to 1950.

207) 1. Kumba
2. Gongola State, Adamawa Division, Mayo Belwa District
4. Adamawa: Yandang group.

208) 1. Kupto
2. Bauchi State, Gombe Division, Nafada District
4. Chadic: Western: Bole-Tangale group: Southern.

209) 1. Kurama
2. Kaduna State, Saminaka Division, Districts of Lere, Kaura and Kubau; Kano State, S.W. Kano Division, Tudun Wada District
3. 11,300 (NAT 1949)
4. Benue-Congo: Plateau: Northern Jos group.

210) 1. Kushi
2. Bauchi State, Gombe Division, Kaltungo District
4. Chadic: Western: Bole-Tangale group: Southern.

211) 1. Kuted
2. Gongola State, Wukari Division, Likam and Ayikiben Districts
4. Benue-Congo: Benue: Jukunoid: Yukuben -Kuteb group.
5. Literacy programme in progress; Bible translation programme in progress.

212) 1. Kutin
2. Gongola State, Adamawa Division, Binyeri District
3. 400
4. Adamawa: Vere-Duru group.

213) 1. Kuturmi
2. Kuduna State, Kachia Division, Kachia District
3. 2,950 (NAT 1949)
4. Benue-Congo: Eastern Plateau.

214) 1. Kuzamani
2. Kaduna State, Seminaka Division, Kauru District
3. 765 (NAT 1949)
4. Benue-Congo: Western Plateau.

215) 1. Kwa
2. Gongola State, Numan Division, Bachama District
4. Adamawa: Kwa group.

216) 1. Kwami
2. Bauchi State, Gombe Division, Kwami District
4. Chadic: Western: Bole-Tangale group: Southern.

217) 1. Kwanka
2. Plateau State, Pankshin Division, Kadun and Pankshin Districts; Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Lere District
4. Benue-Congo: Eastern Plateau.

218) 1. Kyibaku
2. Borno State, Borno Division, Margi District
4. Chadic: Central: Biu group: Western.

219) 1. Laamang
2. Borno State, West Gwoza District; Gongola State, Mubi Division, Madagali District; and in Cameroun
3. 40,000 (1963)
4. Chadic: Central: Laamang group.

220) 1. Laka
2. Gongola State, Muri Division, Lau District; Adamawa Division, Yola District; also in Cameroun
3. 460 (1952)
4. Adamawa: Mbum group.

221) 1. Lame
2. Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Lame District
4. Benue-Congo: Bantoid: Jarawan Bantu.

222) 1. Lamja
2. Gongola State, Adamawa Division, Jereng and Binyeri Districts
4. Adamawa: Bama group.

223) 1. Laru
2. Kwara State, Borgu Division, Busa and Wawa Districts
3. 1300 (NAT 1950)
4. Benue-Congo: Western Plateau: Upper Niger group.

224) 1. Legbo
2. Cross River State, Obubra Division; Imo State, Afikpo Division
3. 18,500 (1963)

4. Benue-Congo: Cross River: Delta Cross: Upper Cross group
5. Writing book 1966.

225) 1. Lela
2. Sokoto State, Zuru Division; Niger State, Kontagora Division
3. 47,000 (1949 G & C)
4. Benue-Congo: Western Plateau
5. Reader, 1934; Scripture portions 1931-4; Hymnbook 1947.

226) 1. Lelau
2. Gongola State, Muri Division, Wurkum District
4. Adamawa: Burak group.

227) 1. Lemoro
2. Plateau State, Jos Division, Jere District; Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Leme District
3. 2,950 (1936 HDG)
4. Benue-Congo: Western Plateau: Northern Jos group.

228) 1. Lenyima
2. Cross River State, Obubra Division
4. Benue-Congo: Cross River: Delta Cross: Upper Cross group.

229) 1. Leyigha
2. Cross River State, Obubra Division
3. 3,150 (1953)
4. Benue-Congo: Cross River: Delta Cross: Upper Cross group.

230) 1. Libo
2. Gongola State, Adamawa Division, Shellem and Mbula Districts
4. Adamawa: Yungur group.

231) 1. Lo
2. Gongola State, Muri Division, Wurkum District
4. Adamawa: Burak group.

232) 1. Loke
2. Cross River State, Obubra Division
3. 38,200 (1953)
4. Benue-Congo: Cross River: Delta Cross: Upper Cross group
5. Primer 1 1973; Reading and Writing Book 1967 and 1973; Post-Primer 1972; New Testament in first draft 1974; Scripture portions from 1967.

233) 1. Longuda
2. Gongola State, Numan Division, Longuda District; Bauchi State, Gombe Division, Waja and Cham Districts
3. 13,700 (1952) (Numan Division only)
4. Adamawa: Longuda group
5. Literacy programme in progress; Primer 1975; Folktales 1975; New Testament in first draft 1975; St. Mark 1954 and 1975.

234) 1. Lopa
2. Kwara State, Borgu Division, Agwarra District
3. 960 (NAT 1950)
4. Benue-Congo: Western Plateau: Upper Niger group

235) 1. Lotsu-Piri
2. Gongola State, Numan Division, Bachama District
3. 2,000 (1952)
4. Adamawa: Waja group.

236) 1. Lubila
2. Cross River State, Akamkpa Division, at Ojo Nkomba, and Ojo Akangba
4. Benue-Congo: Delta Cross: Upper Cross group.

237) 1. Lungu
2. Kaduna State, Jema'a Division, Kwoi District
3. 1,500 (NAT 1949)
4. Benue-Congo: Eastern Plateau.

238) 1. Luri
2. Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Zungur District
4. Chadic: unclassified

239) 1. Mabo-Barkul
2. Plateau State, Pankshin Division, Richa and Tof Districts
4. Benue-Congo: Eastern Plateau.

240) 1. Mada
2. Plateau State, Akwanga Division, Mada District; Keffi Division, Kokona District; Kaduna State, Jema'a Division, Jema'a District
4. Benue-Congo: Eastern Plateau.

241) 1. Magu
2. Gongola State, Mambilla Division, Mambilla District
4. Benue-Congo: Non-Bantu: Mambila-Vute group.

242) 1. Maha
2. Borno State, Borno Division, Gujba District
4. Chadic: Western: Bole-Tangale group: Central.

243) 1. Mama
2. Plateau State, Akwanga, Mama District
4. Benue-Congo: Bantoid: Jarawan Bantu.

244) 1. Mambila
2. Gongola State, Mambilla Division, Mambilla, Tigon and Gashaka Districts; and in Cameroun.
3. 18,000 (1952); estimated at 20,000 in Cameroun
4. Benue Congo: Bantoid: Non-Bantu: Mambila-Vute group
5. Primer in 3 parts 1973; Pre-Primer 1974; 5 Post-Primer Books; 2 Post-Primer Books in Cameroun dialect 1969-70; Literacy programme in progress; New Testament in first draft 1975; Scripture portions from 1970 in Cameroun dialect.

245) 1. Mangas
2. Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Zungur District
3. 180 (LA 1971)
4. Chadic: Western: Southern Bauchi group: Eastern: Boghom sub-group.

246) 1. Margi
2. Borno State, Uba District; Borno Division, Margi District; Gongola State, Mubi Division, Districts of Madagali, Michika, Mubi and Mbani

3. Central, South and Putai: 135,000 (1955)
4. Chadic: Central: Bura group: Eastern.

247) 1. Matakam
2. Borno State, Central Gwoza District; but primarily in Cameroun
3. 2,000 (1963); larger group in Cameroun
4. Chadic: Central: Matakam group
5. New Testament 1965 (Cameroun dialect); Concordance 1972; Scripture portions from 1958.

248) 1. Mbe
2. Cross River State, Ogoja Division
4. Benue-Congo: Bantu: Mbe group
5. Roman Catholic Catechism 1962 in Mbude.

249) 1. Mbembe
2. Cross River State, Obubra and Ikom Divisions; Anambra State, Izi Division;
3. 35,600 (1953)
4. Benue-Congo: Cross River: Delta Cross: Upper Cross group
5. Reading and Writing Book 1966: Primers 1 and 2 1973-74; folktales; New Testament in first draft 1975; Scripture portions from 1967.

250) 1. Mbembe (Tigong)
2. Gongola State, Mambilla Division, Mambilla and Tigon Districts; mainly in Cameroun
4. Benue-Congo; Central Jukunoid.

251) 1. Mboi
2. Gongola State, Adamawa Division, Song District
4. Adamawa: Yungur group.

252) 1. Mbula-Bwazza
2. Gongola State, Numan Division, Mbula, Shellem and Bachama Districts; Adamawa Division, Girei District
3. 7,100 (1952)
4. Benue-Congo: Bantoid: Jarawan Bantu.

253) 1. Mbute
2. Gongola State, Mambilla Division, Gashaka District; but mainly in Cameroun
4. Benue-Congo: Bantoid: Non-Bantu: Mambila-Vute group.

254) 1. Migili
2. Plateau State, Lafia Division, Obi, Assaikio, Lafia and Doma Districts
4. Benue-Congo: Eastern Plateau
5. Reading and Writing Book 1975; Folktales 1976; Literacy programme in progress; Bible translation in progress.

255) 1. Mini
2. Rivers State, Brass Division
3. Benue-Congo: Cross River: Delta Cross: Delta group.

256) 1. Miya
2. Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Ganjuwa District
3. 5,200 (LA 1971)
4. Chadic: Western: Northern Bauchi group: South-Eastern.

257) 1. Mober
2. Borno State, Borno Division, Mobber District; and in Niger Republic
4. Chadic: Western: Bade group.

258) 1. Montol
2. Plateau State, Shendam Division, Shendam District
4. Chadic: Western: Sura-Gerka group: Southern.

259) 1. Mumbake
2. Gongola State, Zing Division; and in Cameroun
4. Adamawa: Vere-Duru group.

260) 1. Mumuye
2. Gongola State, Muri Division, Districts of Lau, Mumuye, Kwajji, Jalingo and Zing.
3. 103,000 (1952)
4. Adamawa: Mumuye group
5. Primer in 2 parts 1974 in Lankovivi; Primer in Zinna before 1925; in Zinna: St. Mark 1938, Hymnbook before 1925.

261) 1. Mundat
2. Plateau State, Pankshin Division, Ron District
4. Chadic: Western: Ron group: Southern.

262) 1. Munga
2. Gongola State, Muri Division, Wurkum District
4. Adamawa: Janjo group.

263) 1. Nandu-Tari
2. Kaduna State, Jema'a Division, Jema'a District
4. Benue-Congo: Eastern Plateau.

264) 1. Naraguta
2. Plateau State, Jos Division, Gwong District
3. 2,580 (HDG)
4. Benue-Congo: Western Plateau: Northern Jos group.

265) 1. Nde-Nsele-Nta
2. Cross River State, Ikom and Obubra Divisions
4. Benue-Congo: Bantoid: Ekoid Bantu.

266) 1. Ndoe
2. Cross River State, Ikom Division
3. 3,000 (1953)
4. Benue-Congo: Bantoid: Edkoid Bantu.

267) 1. Ndoro
2. Gongola State, Mambilla Division, Ndoro and Gashaka Districts; and in Cameroun
4. Benue-Congo: Bantoid: Non-Bantu: Mambila-Vute group.

268) 1. Ngamo
2. Borno State, Fika Division, Fika District; Bauchi State, Gombe Division, Nafada District and Bauchi Division, Darazo District
3. 17,800 (W & B)
4. Chadic: Western: Bole-Tangale group: Central.

269) 1. Nggwahyi
2. Borno State, Biu Division, Askiva District
4. Chadic: Central: Bura group: Western.

270) 1. Ngoshe Ndhang
2. Borno State, Central Gwoza District; Gongola State, Mubi Division, Madagali District
3. 2,500 (1963)
4. Chadic: Mandara group.

271) 1. Ngwoi
2. Niger State, Minna Division, Tegina and Kwangoma Districts
3. 1,000 (1949 HDG)
4. Benue-Congo: Western Plateau: Kamuku-Bassa group.

272) 1. Ninzam
2. Kaduna State, Jema'a Division, Jema'a District; Plateau State, Akwanga Division, Wamba District
4. Benue-Congo: Eastern Plateau.

273) 1. Nkem-Nkum
2. Cross River State, Ogoja Division
3. 16,700 (1953)
4. Benue-Congo: Bantoid: Ekoid Bantu.

274) 1. Nkukoli
2. Cross River State, at the juncture of Ikom, Obubra and Akamkpa Divisions, Iko Ekperem Development Area
4. Benue-Congo: Cross River: Delta Cross: Upper Cross group.

275) 1. Nnam
2. Cross River State, Ikom and Ogoja Divisions
3. 1,230 (1953)
4. Benue-Congo: Bantoid: Ekoid Bantu.

276) 1. Numana-Nunku-Gwantu
2. Kaduna State, Jema'a Division, Jema'a District; Plateau State, Akwanga Division, Wamba District
4. Benue-Congo: Eastern Plateau.

277) 1. Nungu
2. Plateau State, Akwanga Division, Wamba District
4. Benue-Congo: Benue.

278) 1. Nupe
2. Niger State, Bidda, Kontagora and Minna Divisions; Kwara State, Divisions of Lafia Pategi, Igbomena-Ekiti, Agaie-Lapai, Koqi and Dekina
3. 360,000 (1952)
4. Kwa: Niger-Kaduna group.

279) 1. Nyamnyam
2. Gongola State, Mambilla Division, Gashaka District; and into Cameroun
4. Adamawa: Nimbari group.

280) 1. Nzangi
2. Gongola State, Mubi Division, Maiha and Belel Districts; Adamawa Division, Zummo District; and in Cameroun
3. 14,000 (1952)
4. Chadic: Central: Bata-Gude group.

281) 1. Obanliku
2. Cross River State, Obudu Division; and in Cameroun
3. 19,800 (1963)
4. Benue-Congo: Cross River: Bendi.

282) 1. Obolo
2. Cross River State, Opobo and Eket Divisions
3. 22,400 (1944 F & J)
4. Benue-Congo: Cross River: Delta Cross: Lower Cross group.
5. Bible translation in progress; St. Mark in first draft 1974.

283) 1. Obulom
2. Rivers State, Okrika Division
4. Benue-Congo: Cross River: Delta Cross: Central Delta group.

284) 1. Odual
2. Rivers State, Abua/Odual Division
3. 8,400 (1963)
4. Benue-Congo: Cross River: Delta Cross: Central Delta group
5. Rivers Readers Project, Reader 1 1974: Reading and Writing Book, 1975; Folktales 1975; New Testament in first draft 1974; Creation Story 1975.

285) 1. Odut
2. Cross River State, Calabar Division
3. 700 (1940 F & J)
4. Benue-Congo: Cross River: Delta Cross: Upper Cross group.

286) 1. Ogbia
2. Rivers State, Ogbia and Brass Divisions
4. Benue-Congo: Cross River: Delta-Cross: Central Delta group
5. Rivers Readers Project Reader 1 1971; Reading and Writing Book

287) 1. Ogbogolo
2. Rivers State, Abua/Odual Division
4. Benue-Congo: Cross River: Delta-Cross: Central Delta group.

288) 1. Ogbronuagum
2. Rivers State, Kalabari Division
4. Benue-Congo: Cross River: Delta-Cross: Central Delta group.

289) 1. Ogori-Magongo
2. Kwara State, Igbirra Division, Ogori-Magongo District
4. Niger-Congo: unclassified.

290) 1. Okobo
2. Cross River State, Oron Division
3. 11,200 (1945 F & J)
4. Benue-Congo: Cross River: Delta-Cross: Lower Cross group.

291) 1. Okpamhevi
2. Bendel State, Akoko-Edo Division
4. Kwa: North-Western Edo.

292) 1. Okpe-Idesa-Oloma-Akuku
2. Bendel State, Akoko-Edo Division
4. Kwa: North-Western Edo.

293) 1. Olulumo-Ikom
2. Cross River State, Ikom Division
3. 9,250 (1953)
4. Benue-Congo: Cross River: Delta-Cross: Upper Cross group.

294) 1. Oring
2. Benue State, Oturkpo Division, Utonkon District; Anambra State, Ishielu Division
3. At least 25,000 (1952 RGA)
4. Benue-Congo: Cross River: Delta-Cross: Upper Cross group.

295) 1. Oron
2. Cross River State, Oron Division
3. 48,300 (1945 F & J)
4. Benue-Congo: Cross River: Delta-Cross: Lower Cross group.

296) 1. Ososo
2. Bendel State, Akoko-Edo Division
4. Kwa: North-Central Edo.

297) 1. Otank
2. Cross River State, Obudu Division; Benue State, Katsina Ala Division, Mbaikyor District.
3. 7,500 with Icheve (1963)
4. Benue-Congo: Bantoid: Non-Bantu: Tiv-Batu group

298) 1. Pa'a
2. Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Ganjuwa District
3. 8,500 (LA 1971)
4. Chadic: Western: North Bauchi group: South Eastern.

299) 1. Pai
2. Plateau State, Pankshin Division, Pai District
4. Benue-Congo: Eastern Plateau.

300) 1. Panyam
2. Gongola State, Muri Division, Wurkum District
4. Adamawa: Burak group.

301) 1. Passam
2. Gongola State, Numan Division, Batta District
4. Adamawa: Yandang group.

302) 1. Pero
2. Bauchi State, Gombe Division, Kaltungo District
4. Chadic: Western: Bole-Tangale group: Southern
5. Scripture portions 1936-38.

303) 1. Pidgin (English)
2. Spoken as a trade language widely throughout the southern states and in Sabon Garis of the northern states
4. Derived from English
5. Various Scripture portions; Catechism 1957.

304) 1. Piti
2. Kadma State, Saminaka Division, Lere District
3. 1,600 (NAT 1950)
4. Benue-Congo: Western Plateau.

305) 1. Piya
2. Gongola State, Muri Division, Wurkum District
4. Chadic: Western: Bole-Tangale group: Southern.

306) 1. Pongu
2. Niger State, Minna Division, Tegina District
3. 3,675 (1949 HDG)
4. Benue-Congo: Western Plateau: Kamuku-Bassa group.

307) 1. Puku-Geeri-Keri-Wipsi
2. Sokoto State, Zuru Division, Dalai and Fakai Districts
4. Benue-Congo: Western Plateau.

308) 1. Pyapun
2. Plateau State, Shendam Division and District
4. Chadic: Western: Sura-Gerka group: Southern

309) 1. Reshe
2. Sokoto State, Yauri Division; Kwara State, Borgu Division, Agwara District
3. 15,000 (1931 (G & C)
4. Benue-Congo: Western Plateau
5. Readers prior to 1967.

310) 1. Roba
2. Gongola State, Numan Division, Shellem District; and Adamawa Division, Districts of Ga'anda, Song and Yunger
4. Adamawa: Yungur group.

311) 1. Rukuba
2. Plateau State, Jos Division, Rukuba District
3. 15,600 (1936 HDG)
4. Benue-Congo: Eastern Plateau
5. St. Mark 1924; St. John 1931.

312) 1. Rumaya
2. Kaduna State, Saminaka Division, Kauru District
3. 1,800 (NAT 1948)
4. Benue-Congo: Western Plateau.

313) 1. Rurama
2. Kaduna State, Saminaka Division, Kauru District
3. 2,200 (NAT 1948)
4. Benue-Congo: Western Plateau.

314) 1. Sanga
2. Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Lame District
3. 1,700 (NAT 1950)
4. Benue-Congo: Western Plateau: Northern Jos group.

315) 1. Sasaru-Enwan-Igwe
2. Bendel State, Akoko-Edo Division
3. 3,775 (1952)
4. Kwa: North Central Edo.

316) 1. Sha
2. Plateau State, Pankshin Division, Monguna District
4. Chadic: Western: Ron group: Southern.

317) 1. Shagawu
2. Plateau State, Pankshin Division, Monguna District
4. Chadic: Western: Ron group: South-Central.

318) 1. Shall-Zwall
2. Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Lere District
4. Benue-Congo: Eastern Plateau.

319) 1. Shanga
2. Sokoto State, Gwandu Division, Illo and Kaoji Districts, and Yauri Division
4. Mande: South East Division.

320) 1. Shani
2. Kaduna State, Saminaka Division, Lere District
3. 200 (1925 HDG)
4. Benue-Congo: Western Plateau.

321) 1. Shuwa Arabic
2. Borno State, Dikwa Division, Districts of Rann Kalabalge, Ngala, Gajibo-Gumsu, Bana and Gulumba.
4. Afroasiatic: Semitic.

322) 1. Siri
2. Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Ganjuwa and Ningi Districts
3. 2,000 (LA 1971)
4. Chadic: Western: Northern Bauchi group.

323) 1. Sukur
2. Gongola State, Mubi Division, Madagali District
3. 5,000 (1952)
4. Chadic: Central: Sukur group.

324) 1. Sura
2. Plateau State, Pankshin Division, Districts of North and South Sura, Gindiri and Ron
3. 20,000 (W & B)
4. Chadic: Western: Sura-Gerka group: North-Western.
5. Primers 1912 and 1915; Scripture portions 1915 to 1966; Hymnbook; Catechism 1915 and 1930.

325) 1. Surubu
2. Kaduna State, Saminaka Division, Kauru District
3. 1,950 (NAT 1948)
4. Benue-Congo: Western Plateau.

326) 1. Tal
2. Plateau State, Pankshin Division, Tal District
4. Chadic: Western: Sura-Gerka group: Southern.

327) 1. Tala
2. Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Zungur District
4. Chadic: Western: Southern Bauchi group: Eastern: Guruntum sub-group.

328) 1. Tambas
2. Plateau State, Pankshin Division, South Sura District
4. Chadic: Western: Ron group: Eastern.

329) 1. Tangale
2. Bauchi State, Gombe Division, Tangale and Kaltungo Districts
3. 36,000 (W & B)
4. Chadic: Western: Bole-Tangale group: Southern
5. New Testament 1932, 1953 and 1963; Scripture portions 1920-1941.

330) 1. Tapshin
2. Plateau State, Pankshin Division, Kadun District
4. Benue-Congo: Benue

331) 1. Tarok
2. Plateau State, Langtang Division, Plain and Hill Yergam and Wase Districts
4. Benue-Congo: Benue
5. Primer 1915; Scripture portions 1917, 1966; Catechism 1917.

332) 1. Teme
2. Gongola State, Adamawa Division, Mayo Belwa District.
4. Adamawa: Yandang group.

333) 1. Tera
2. Borno State, Biu Division; Bauchi State, Gombe Division
4. Chadic: Central: Tera group: Western
5. St. John 1930.

334) 1. Tita
2. Gongola State, Muri Division, Jalingo District (?) location unknown
4. Niger-Congo: unclassified.

335) 1. Tiv
2. Benue State, Divisions of Makurdi, Gboko and Katsina Ala; Plateau State, Lafia Division, Obi and Assaiko Districts; Gongola State, Wukari Division, Kashimbila and Chenchenje Districts
3. 800,000 (1952)
4. Benue-Congo: Bantoid: Non-Bantu: Tiv-Batu group
5. Primer 1914; Dictionaries 1940, 1968; grammar, school text books; Literacy programme in progress; Bible 1966; New Testament 1942; Scripture portions from 1916; Hymnbook; Catechism: Commentaries on parts of the Bible; other Christian literature.

336) 1. Tula
2. Bauchi State, Gombe Division, Kaltungo District
4. Adamawa: Waja group
5. St. John 1929.

337) 1. Turkwam
2. Plateau State, Akwanga Division, Mama District
4. Benue-Congo: Benue

338) 1. Ubaghara
2. Cross River State, Akamkpa Division
4. Benue-Congo: Cross River: Delta-Cross: Upper Cross group.

339) 1. Ubang
2. Cross River State, Obudu Division
4. Benue-Congo: Cross River: Bendi.

340) 1. Uhami-Iyayu
2. Ondo State, Owo Division, Idoani
4. Kwa: North Western Edo.

341) 1. Ukaan
2. Bendel State, Akoko-Edo Division; Ondo State, Akoko Division
4. Niger-Congo: unclassified.

342) 1. Ukpe-Bayobiri
2. Cross River State, Obudu and Ikom Divisions
4. Benue-Congo: Cross River: Bendi.

343) 1. Ukue-Ehuen
2. Ondo State, Akoko Division, Ukpe and Ekpenni
4. Kwa: North Western Edo.

344) 1. Ulukwumi
2. Bendel State, Aniocha Division
4. Kwa: Yoruba group.

345) 1. Umon
2. Cross River State, Akamkpa Division, Biase District
3. 25 villages
4. Benue-Congo: Cross River: Delta-Cross: Upper Cross group
5. Scripture portions 1895.

346) 1. Uneme
2. Bendel State, Etsako, Ishan and Akoko-Edo Divisions
3. 6,000 (1952)
4. Kwa: North Central Edo
5. 1 Primer.

347) 1. Ura
2. Niger State, Minna Division, Kwongoma District
3. 900 (1949 HDG)
4. Benue-Congo: Western Plateau: Kamuku-Bassa group.

348) 1. Urhobo
2. Bendel State, Western and Eastern Urhobo Divisions
3. At least 173,000 (1952 REB)
4. Kwa: South Western Edo
5. Primers 1927, 1959, 1976; Reading Book 1963; Bible in press 1976; New Testament 1951 and 1962; Scripture portions from 1927.

349) 1. Utugwang
2. Cross River State, Obudu and Ogoja Divisions
4. Benue-Congo: Cross River: Bendi

350) 1. Uzekwe
2. Cross River State, Ogoja Division
4. Benue-Congo: Cross River: Delta-Cross: Upper Cross group.

351) 1. Verre
2. Gongola State, Adamawa Division, Verre District; and in Cameroun
3. 12,300 (1952)
4. Adamawa: Vere-Duru group.

352) 1. Wimtim
2. Gongola State, Mubi Division, Mubi District
4. Chadic: Central: Bata-Gude group: Gude sub-group.

353) 1. Waja
2. Bauchi State, Gombe Division, Waja District
3. 19,700 (W & B)
4. Adamawa: Waja group
5. Primer 1924; St. John 1926; St. Matthew 1935.

354) 1. Waka
2. Gongola State, Muri Division, Lau District
4. Adamawa: Yandang group.

355) 1. Wandala
2. Borno State, Divisions of Borno, Dikwa and East Gwoza District; but mainly in Cameroun
3. Majority in Cameroun
4. Chadic: Central: Mandara group
5. St. Mark in Cameroun dialect 1967.

356) 1. Warji
2. Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Warji and Ganjuwa Districts; Kano State, South East Division, Gwanran District
3. 28,000 (LA 1971)
4. Chadic: Western: Northern Bauchi group: South Eastern.

357) 1. Wom
2. Gongola State, Adamawa Division, Verre District; and in Cameroun
4. Adamawa: Vere-Duru group.

358) 1. Yala
2. Cross River State, Divisions of Ogoja, Ikom and Obubra
3. 25,650 (1952)
4. Kwa: Idoma group
5. Pre-reading Book; Primers 1-5 1973; Folk Stories 1975; Health Stories (2) 1974-5, Stories by students; literacy programme in progress; Bible translation in progress; St. Mark 1975.

359) 1. Yandang
2. Gongola State, Adamawa Division, Jereng and Kwajji Districts; Muri Division, Jalingo and Lau Districts
3. 8,100 (1952)
4. Adamawa: Yandang group.

360) 1. Yashi
2. Plateau State, Akwanga Division; Mana District
4. Benue-Congo: Benue.

361) 1. Yekhee
2. Bendel State, Etsako and Isham Divisions
3. 73,500 (1952)
4. Kwa: North Central Edo.

362) 1. Yeskwa
2. Plateau State, Nasarawa Division, Gitate and Kokona Districts: Kaduna State, Jema'a Division, Jema'a District.
4. Benue-Congo: Eastern Plateau.

363) 1. Yiwom
2. Plateau State, Shendam Division, Gerkawa, Plain Yergam and Resettlement Districts
4. Chadic: Western: Sura-Gerka group: Gerka sub-group.

364) 1. Yoruba
2. Most of Oyo, Ogun, Ondo and Lagos States; parts of Kwara State, Divisions of Borgu, Ilorin, Igbomena-Ekiti, Kabba and Kogi; and into Benin Republic and Togo
3. 5,100,000 (1952)
4. Kwa: Yoruba
5. Much literature for over 100 years; Bible latest edition 1966; New Testament latest edition 1959; Scripture portions from 1850; new Bible translation in progress.

365) 1. Yukuben
2. Gongola State, Wukari Division, Ayikiben District
4. Benue-Congo: Jukunoid: Yukuben-Kuted group.

366) 1. Yungur
2. Gongola State, Adamawa Division, Districts of Song and Yungur; Numan Division, Shellen District
3. 44,300 (1963)
4. Adamawa: Yungur group.

367) 1. Zangwal
2. Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Zungur District
4. Chadic: Western: Southern Bauchi group: Eastern: Guruntum sub-group.

368) 1. Zarma
2. Sokoto State, Argungu Division, Arewa Yamma and Arewa Gabas Districts; Gwandu Division, Kalgo and Birnin Kebbi Districts; and in Benin Republic
3. 12,400 (1931((W & B)
4. Nilo-Saharan: Songhai group
5. In Djerma of Benin Republic: New Testament 1936, 1954; St.John 1934.

CHAPTER 3

STATE BY STATE DISTRIBUTION OF NIGERIAN LANGUAGES

Work on the language survey was almost complete when the announcement of the new 19-state structure for the country was made. In order to make the list more useful, the necessary changes have been made to bring it into line with the 1976 state boundaries.

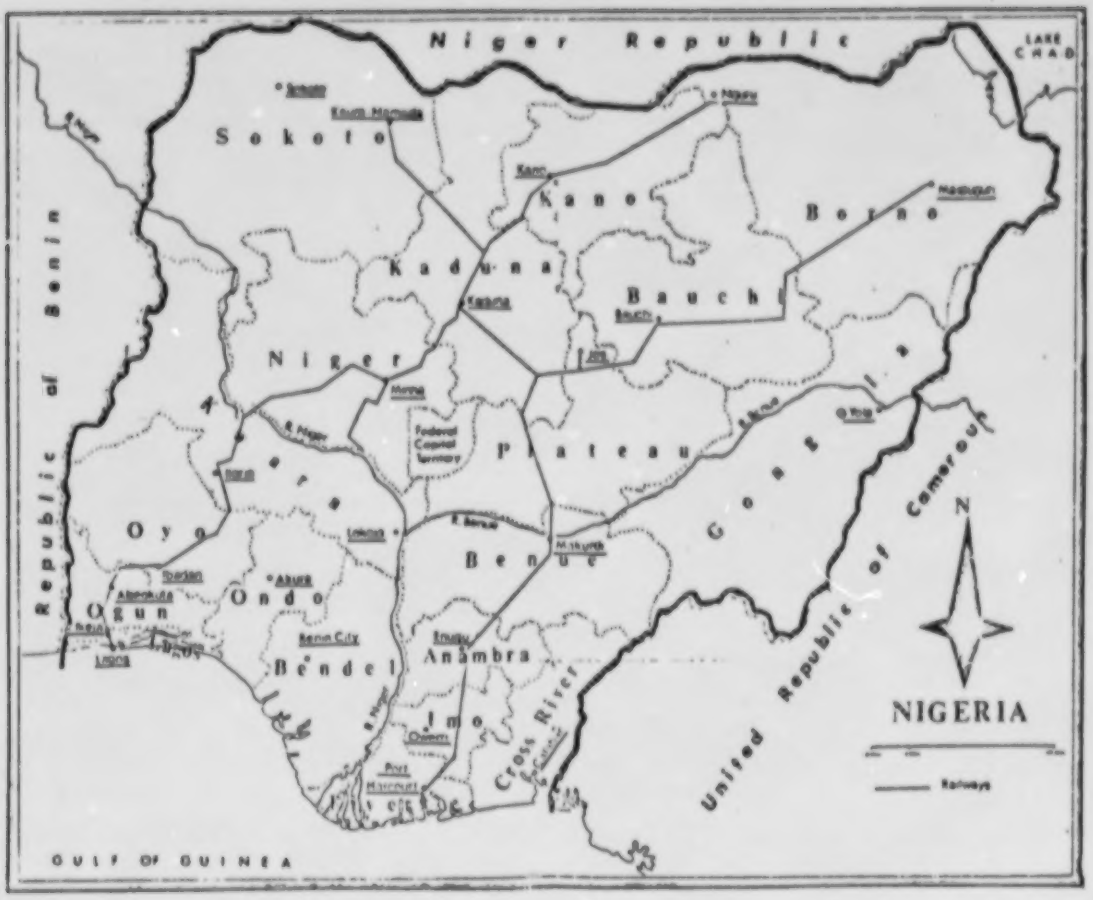
There remained, however, few areas where final decisions about the new state boundaries were not made until the 25th of November 1976, when the *Daily Times* carried a front page official report on final boundary adjustments. The government decision was based on the recommendations of the Boundary Adjustment Commission. Affected in the exercise are: Ondo-Oyo, Kwara-Ondo-Bendel, Rivers-Bendel, Borno-Gongola, and Cross River-Rivers-Imo States. The adjustment exercise made some physical alterations in the map of the states concerned but had no appreciable linguistic effect on the areas. Changes in political boundaries do not automatically produce corresponding linguistic adjustments. In any case, the number of languages affected in the exercise is very small. In some cases there is no linguistic issue involved where both states speak the same language or have common language at the border; in other cases, some linguistic minorities in one state are transferred, on the grounds of ethnic or linguistic affinities, to their kith and kin in another state.

The Table of language distribution in each of the states of the Federation emphasizes the importance attached to precise territorial linguistic identity in the research. This is in response to the open invitations thrown to researchers by eminent Nigerians, such as Chief Obafemi Awolowo, who, in a Press Conference in 1975 challenged us to supply the nation with a list of

> "200 ethnic or linguistic groups about which we have again and again been told and the parts of the country in which they live".

I hope these analyses of our languages will provide appropriate information on the issue.

In the following Table, the reference number of each language appears once and only in the state where that language has majority of speakers. If such a language is spoken in another state, it will be noted only as one of the languages spoken there but without a reference number. The names of other states where it is also spoken are enclosed in brackets with an asterisk against the state where it has the majority of speakers. This is to avoid duplicating some languages. Thus, Hausa is numbered only in Kano State and noted without reference number in other states despite the fact that it is spoken also as first language in large areas of Sokoto, Bauchi, Niger and Kaduna States, and as lingua franca in much of the areas in the Middle Belt. The same rule applies to others: for example, Fulfulde is numbered only in Gongola State, though it is found scattered throughout the northern states; Yoruba has its reference number only in Oyo State, and noted without number in Kwara, Lagos, Ogun and


Niger Republic
LAKE CHAD
Sokoto
Kano
Borno
Kaduna
Bauchi
Niger
Plateau
Oyo
Benue
Ondo
Ogun
Bendel
Anambra
Imo
Cross River
Republic of Benin
United Republic of Cameroun
NIGERIA
GULF OF GUINEA

Ondo States where it is also spoken as a first language.

Let us now have a look at our languages through the eyes, as it were, of the 19 States of the Federation:

TABLE 2: STATE BY STATE DISTRIBUTION OF NIGERIAN LANGUAGES

ANAMBRA STATE

Igala (*Benue, Bendal)
Igbo (*Imo, Bendal, Rivers)
Kukele (*Cross River)
Mbembe (*Cross River)
Oring (*Benue)

BAUCHI STATE

28) Bangwinji
29) Barawa
30) Barke
48) Bole
52) Burak
54) Buta-Ningi
58) Cham-Nwana
64) Dadiya
69) Deno
73) Dirya
77) Duguza
79) Dulbu
107) Galambi
109) Gera
110) Geruma
116) Gubi
122) Guruntum-Mbaaru
123) Gwa
127) Gyem
Hausa (*Kano, Sokoto, Niger, Kaduna)
151) Jaku
Jara (*Borno)
155) Jarawa (Gongola, Plateau)
Jera (*Plateau)
158) Jimbin
159) Jimi
162) Ju
Jukun (*Gongola, Benue, Plateau)
173) Kamo
179) Karakare (Borno)
181) Kariya
188) Kir-Balar
189) Kirifi
200) Kubi
201) Kuda-Chamo (language said to be dying out).
208) Kupto
209) Kushi
216) Kwami
Kwanka (*Plateau)
221) Lame
Lemoro (*Plateau)
Longuda (*Gongola)
238) Luri
245) Mangas
256) Miya
Ngamo (*Borno)
298) Pa'a
302) Pero
314) Sanga
318) Shall-Zwall
322) Siri
327) Tala
329) Tangale
Tera (*Borno)
336) Tula
353) Waja
356) Warji (kano)
367) Zangwal

BENDEL STATE

Ebira (*Kwara, Plateau)
82) Edo
93) Emai-Iuleha-Ora
97) Eruwa
98) Esan
111) Ghotuo
Igala (*Benue, Anambra)
Igbo (*Imo, Anambra, Rivers)
Ijo (Central) (*Rivers, Ondo)
143) Ikpeshi
147) Isekiri
148) Isoko

149) Ivbie North-Okpela-Atte
291) Okpamheri
292) Okpe-Idesa-Oloma-Akuku
296) Ososo
303) Pidgin (spoken throughout the southern states and in Sabon Garis of Northern States)
315) Sasaru-Enwan-Igwe
341) Ukaan (Ondo)
344) Ulukwumi
346) Uneme
348) Urhobo
361) Yekhee

BENUE STATE

9) Akpa-Yache (Cross River)
33) Bassa-Kwomu (Plateau)
Eloyi (*Plateau)
99) Etulo
137) Idoma
139) Igala (Bendel, Anambra)
141) Igede (Cross River)
Jukun (*Gongola, Plateau, Bauchi)
294) Oring (Anambra)
Otank (*Cross River)
335) Tiv (Plateau, Gongola)

BORNO STATE

4) Affade
22) Bade (Kano)
49) Buduma
51) Bura
71) Dghwede
112) Glavda
Gude (*Gongola)
119) Guduf
154) Jara (Bauchi)
178) Kanuri (Kano)
Karakare (*Bauchi)
218) Kyibaku
219) Laamang (Gongola)
242) Maha
246) Margi (Gongola)
247) Matakam
257) Mober
268) Ngamo (Bauchi)
269) Nggwahyi
270) Ngoshe Ndhang (Gongola)
321) Shuwa Arabic
333) Tera (Bauchi)
355) Wandala

CROSS RIVER STATE

1) Abanyom
5) Agoi
6) Agwagwune
Akpa-Yache (*Benue)
11) Akpet-Ehom
13) Alege
15) Anaang
23) Bakpinka
38) Bekwarra
41) Bette-Bendi
47) Bokyi
50) Bumaji
75) Doko-Uyanga
83) Efik
84) Efutop
87) Ejagham
88) Ekajuk
89) Ekit
94) Emane
100) Evant
132) Ibami
133) Ibibio
134) Ibino
136) Icheve
Igede (*Benue)
187) Kiong
193) Kohumono
197) Korop
204) Kukele (Anambra)
224) Legbo (Imo)
228) Lenyima
229) Leyigha
232) Loke
236) Lubila
248) Mbe
249) Mbembe (Anambra)
265) Nde-Nsele-Nta
266) Ndoe
273) Nkem-Nkum
274) Nkukoli
275) Nnam
281) Obanliku
282) Obolo
285) Odut
290) Okobo
293) Olulumo-Ikom
295) Oron
297) Otank (Benue)
338) Ubaghara
339) Ubang
342) Ukpe-Bayobiri
345) Umon
349) Utugwang
350) Uzekve
358) Yala

GONGOLA STATE

2) Abon
19) Awak
24) Bali
25) Bambuka
26) Bandawa-Minda
34) Bata
35) Batu
37) Baya
40) Bete
42) Bile
44) Bitare
56) Chamba Daka
57) Chamba Leko
63) Chomo-Karim
70) Dera
72) Dirim
76) Dong
101) Fali
102) Fulfulde
105) Ga'anda
108) Gengle
115) Gongla
117) Gude (Borno)
118) Gudu
126) Gwomu
130) Hwana
135) Icen
153) Janjo
Jarawa (*Bauchi, Plateau)
160) Jiru-Kir
163) Jukun (Plateau, Benue, Bauchi)
168) Kaka
169) Kam
172) Kamkam
175) Kamwe
184) Kila
185) Kilba
194) Koma
198) Kotopo
199) Kpan
202) Kugama
206) Kulung
207) Kumba
211) Kuteb
212) Kutin
215) Kwa
Laamang (*Borno)
220) Laka
222) Lamja
226) Lelau
230) Libo
231) Lo
233) Longuda (Bauchi)
235) Lotsu-Piri
241) Magu
244) Mambila
Margi (*Borno)
250) Mbembe-Tigong
251) Mboi
252) Mbula-Bwazza
253) Mbute
259) Mumbake
260) Mumuye
262) Munga
267) Ndoro
Ngoshe Ndhang (*Borno)
279) Nyamnyam
280) Nzangi
300) Panyam
301) Passam
305) Piya
310) Roba
323) Sukur
332) Teme
334) Tita
Tiv (*Benue, Plateau)
351) Verre
352) Vimtim
354) Waka
357) Wom
359) Yandang
365) Yukuben
366) Yungur

IMO STATE

140) Igbo (Anambra, Bendel, Rivers)
Legbo (*Cross River)

KADUNA STATE

Amo (*Plateau)
Aten (*Plateau)
20) Ayu
Berom (*Plateau)
43) Binawa
60) Chawai
74) Doka
80) Dungi
120) Gure-Kahugu
Gwandara (*Niger, Plateau)
Gwari (*Niger, Plateau)
Hausa (*Kano, Sokoto, Niger, Bauchi)
131) Hyam
138) Idon
144) Iku-Gora-Ankwa
145) Ikulu
Izarek (*Plateau)
164) Kadara (Niger)
165) Kagoma
166) Kaivi
167) Kaje
170) Kamantam
Kamuku (*Niger, Sokoto)
177) Kanufi-Kaningkon-Nindem
182) Katab
183) Kiballo
186) Kinuku
190) Kitimi
195) Kono
196) Koro (Niger)
209) Kurama (Kano)
213) Kuturmi
214) Kuzamani
237) Lungu
Mada (*Plateau)
263) Nandu-Tari
272) Ninzam (Plateau)
276) Numana-Nunku-Gwantu (Plateau)
304) Piti
312) Rumaya
313) Rurama
320) Shani
325) Surubu
Yeskwa (*Plateau)

KANO STATE

Bade (*Borno)
128) Hausa (Sokoto, Bauchi, Niger, Kaduna)
Kanuri (*Borno)
Kurama (*Kaduna
Warji (*Bauchi)

KWARA STATE

Akoko North (*Ondo)
21) Baatonun
53) Busa (Sokoto)
81) Ebira (Plateau, Bendel)
Kambari (*Sokoto, Niger)
223) Laru
234) Lopa
Nupe (*Niger)
289) Ogori-Magongo
Reshe (*Sokoto)
Yoruba (*Oyo, Ogun, Ondo, Lagos)

LAGOS STATE

86) Egun
Yoruba (*Oyo, Ogun, Ondo, Kwara)

NIGER STATE

32) Bassa-Kaduna
36) Baushi
Duka (*Sokoto)
Gade (*Plateau)
121) Gurmana
124) Gwandara (Kaduna, Plateau)
125) Gwari (Kaduna, Plateau)
Hausa (*Kano, Sokoto, Kaduna, Bauchi)
Kadara (*Kaduna)
Kambari (*Sokoto, Kwara)
174) Kamuku (Kaduna, Sokoto)
Koro (*Kaduna)
Lela (*Sokoto)
271) Ngwoi
278) Nupe
306) Pongu
347) Ura

OGUN STATE

Yoruba (*Oyo, Ondo, Lagos, Kwara)

ONDO STATE

8) Akoko North
10) Akpes
Ijo: Ijo Central spoken by the Apois and Arogbos in Okitipupa Division (*Rivers and Bendel)
340) Uhami-Uyayu
Ukaan (*Bendel)
343) Ukue-Ehuen
Yoruba (*Oyo, Ogun, Lagos, Kwara)

OYO STATE

364) Yoruba (Ogun, Ondo, Lagos, Kwara)

PLATEAU STATE

7) Ake
12) Alago
14) Amo (Kaduna)
16) Angas
17) Arum-Chessu
18) Aten (Kaduna)
31) Bashar
Bassa-Kwomu (*Benue)
39) Berom (Kaduna)
45) Boghom
46) Bokkos
55) Chakfem-Mushere
59) Chara
61) Chip
62) Chokobo
65) Daffo-Batura
Ebira (*Kwara, Bendel)
85) Eggon
92) Eloyi (Benue)
103) Fyam
104) Fyer
106) Gade (Niger)
113) Goemai
Gwandara (*Niger, Kaduna)
Gwari (*Niger, Kaduna)
129) Horom
146) Irigwe
150) Izarek (Kaduna)
152) Janji
Jarawa (*Bauchi, Gongola)
156) Jera (Bauchi)
157) Ziuda-Abu
161) Jorto
Jukun (*Gongola, Benue, Bauchi)
180) Karfa
191) Koenoem
192) Kofiar
205) Kulere
217) Kwanka (Bauchi)
227) Lemoro (Bauchi)
239) Mabo-Barkul
240) Mada (Kaduna)
243) Mama
254) Migili
258) Montol
261) Mundat
264) Naraguta
Ninzam (*Kaduna)
Numana-Nunku-Gwantu (*Kaduna)
277) Nungu
299) Pai
308) Pyapun
311) Rukuba
316) Sha
317) Shagawu
324) Sura
326) Tal
328) Tambas
330) Tapshin
331) Tarok
Tiv (*Benue, Gongola)
337) Turkwam
360) Yashi
362) Yeskwa (Kaduna)
363) Yiwom

RIVERS STATE

3) Abua
66) Defaka
67) Degema
90) Ekpeye
91) Eleme
95) Engenni
96) Epie
114) Gokana
Igbo (*Imo, Anambra, Bendel)
142) Ijo (Bendel, Ondo)
176) Kana
203) Kugbo
255) Mini
283) Obulom
284) Odual
286) Ogbia
287) Ogbogolo
288) Ogbronuagum

SOKOTO STATE

27) Banga
Busa (*Kwara)
68) Dendi
78) Duka (Niger
Hausa (*Kano, Bauchi, Kaduna, Niger)
171) Kambari (Niger, Kwara)
Kamuku (*Niger, Kaduna)
225) Lela (Niger)
307) Puku-Geeri-Keri-Wipsi
309) Reshe (Kwara)
319) Shanga
368) Zarma

It is clear from the Table 2 above that languages in the 19 states of the Federation are unevenly distributed. They range from one language in some states to a multiplicity of languages in others. In the following summary illustration, the states are arranged in ascending order of magnitude in the number of languages each has within its territory. Other statistical informations include: number of languages spoken solely in a state; number of its languages found in other states; number of languages in which the state has the majority of speakers; number of its languages in which the majority of speakers are found in other states:

State	Total number of languages	Number of languages spoken solely in the state	Number of its languages found in other states	Number of languages in which the state has the majority of speakers	Number of its languages in which the majority of speakers are found in the states	Main languages
Ogun	1	-	1	-	1	Yoruba
Oyo	1	-	1	1	-	Yoruba
Imo	2	-	2	1	1	Igbo
Lagos	2	1	1	1	1	Yoruba
Anambra	5	-	5	-	5	Igbo
Kano	5	-	5	1	4	Hausa
Ondo	7	4	3	4	3	Yoruba
Benue	11	2	9	8	3	Tiv, Idoma
Kwara	11	4	7	6	5	Yoruba, Hausa, Ebira
Sokoto	12	5	7	9	3	Hausa
Niger	17	6	11	10	7	Hausa, Nupe
Rivers	18	16	2	17	1	Ijo
Bendel	23	17	6	19	4	Edo, Igbo, Urhobo
Borno	23	13	10	21	2	Kanuri
Kaduna	44	29	15	34	10	Hausa
Cross River	55	49	6	53	2	Efik
Bauchi	58	46	12	49	9	Hausa
Plateau	65	43	20	56	9	Berom, Angas
Gongola	83	75	8	78	5	Fulfulde, Hausa, Jukun

CHAPTER 4

NIGERIAN LANGUAGES WITH ALTERNATIVE SPELLINGS AND NAMES

The task of preparing a comprehensive language list is a major one, not just because there are so many languages in Nigeria, but because so many different names and spellings are used for the same language. Take, for example, the following set: Ebira, Igbira, Igbirra, Egbira, Egbura; or another set: Isekiri, Itsekiri, Ishekiri, Ichakiri, Ichekiri, Shekiré, Jekiri. Though the reader will often guess that different spellings like these refer to the same language, such assumptions and identifications can be misleading and dangerous, since frequently distinct languages have very similar names. It would be unfortunate to suppose that Bada is the same as Bade, or that Bata is the same as Batu!

The name that speakers of the language use for their language may not be the same as another name which is in more general use. For instance, Etsako is a name that is very commonly found, though the people themselves use the name Yekhee for their language. Yet another name, Kukuruku, is commonly found for this group: neighbouring groups use this last term, but the people themselves dislike it. The common explanation of the term is that it arose from their war-cry! We have marked the names which the people concerned reject as follows: (not recommended). Yergam is a name which is in common use, but the people themselves use the name Tarok and this name is the one used in our list. Higi is another commonly used name, though the people's name for themselves is Kamwe, and for their language Vecenwe. Kamwe is the name we use in the list.

Sometimes languages are referred to by the name of the people who speak the language rather than the name which the people themselves give to their own language. The name Kaje has been retained, for instance, though it is really the name of the people rather than the name of the language, which is Jju.

There are a number of instances in which a general name is used for several different languages. Thus, Challa is a term that is actually used for Bokkos, Daffo-Batura and Shagawa. The explanation is usually given that Challa bears some relation to a common greeting which is found in the languages.

Sometimes languages are referred to by the names of places where they are spoken and this is particularly true of many of the smaller languages, which are only spoken in two of three towns or villages. They are named after these places of some of the places where they are spoken, which is often very confusing. Thus, names like Panyam, Burak, Bambuka are all really names of places rather than of the languages concerned.

We have deliberately omitted the cases where the name for a group is used only by their immediate neighbours and has not gained any wider acceptance. When we have been in doubt as to the name to use for the main reference for a language, because there are several names in use, we have given preference to the name that the people themselves use. In some cases, however, that name is not known outside the immediate area and so we have used a name which is more

commonly known. An example of this is Katab, which is commonly used for a dialect cluster. The people's name would be Atyap, but this is not known outside the area. Similarly, within this cluster, we have retained the name Kagoro, though the people's name is Agwolok, and we have retained Kachichere though the people's name is Aticherak.

In Table 3, affected languages retain their reference names and numbers as usual. For each language, all the alternative names and spellings have been set out alphabetically and systematically with the following key:

1. Name of language
2. Alternative spellings
3. Alternative names of languages
4. People's name for themselves (where this is known and where it differs from reference name)
5. Alternative names of language by reference to place where it is spoken
6. Alternative names of people.

TABLE 3: NIGERIAN LANGUAGES WITH ALTERNATIVE SPELLINGS AND NAMES

1. 1. Abanyom
   3. Befun
2. 1. Abon
   2. Abong
3. 1. Abua
   2. Abuan
5. 1. Agoi
   3. Ro Bambani
   4. Wa Bambani
   5. Ibami
7. 1. Ake
   2. Akye, Aike
11. 1. Akpet-Ehom
    2. Ukpet
12. 1. Alago
    2. Arago
    4. Idoma Nokwu
14. 1. Amo
    2. Amon, Among
    3. Timap, Ba
    4. Amap
15. 1. Anaang
    2. Annang, Anang
16. 1. Angas
    2. Ngas
    3. Kerang
18. 1. Aten
    3. Ten, Etien, Ganawuri, Jal
    4. Niten
19. 1. Awak
    2. Awok
20. 1. Ayu
    2. Aya
21. 1. Baatonun
    2. Batonu
    3. Bariba, Barba, Berba
    4. Baatonu, Batonu
    6. Bargu (singular)
       Barba (plural), Burgu, Borgu, Bogung, Zana
22. 1. Bade
    2. Bedde
23. 1. Bakpinka
    4. Iyongiyong
    5. Uwet
26. 1. Bandawa-Minda
    5. Minda, Jinleri
27. 1. Banga
    4. Lyase-Ne
28. 1. Bangwinji
    2. Bangunji
29. 1. Barawa
    2. Baaraawaa
30. 1. Barke
    2. Barko
    6. Burkunawa, Lipkawa
       (see also Kariya)

31. 1. Bashar
2. Bashiri

32. 1. Bassa-Kaduna
3. Gwandara-Bassa, Bassa Kuta

33. 1. Bassa-Kwomu
2. Bassa-Komo
3. Abacha, Abatsa

36. 1. Baushi
2. Bauci
3. Kushi

37. 1. Baya
2. Gbaya

38. 1. Bekwarra
2. Bekworra
3. Yakoro

39. 1. [illegible]
2. Birom, Berum
3. Kibbo, Aboro (Boro-Aboro), Gbang, Afango, Kibo, Kibyen
6. Shosho (not recommended)

41. 1. Bette-Bendi
2. Bete-Bendi
3. Dama

42. 1. Bile
2. Bille

43. 1. Binawa
3. Bogona

44. 1. Bitare
3. Njwande, Yukutare

45. 1. Boghom
2. Burom, Burrum, Burma, Borrom, Boghorom, Bogghom, Bohom, Bokiyim

47. 1. Bokyi
2. Boki
3. Nki, Okii, Uki, Nfua
4. Vanneroki

48. 1. Bole
3. Borpika
4. Ampika

49. 1. Buduma
3. Yedina

51. 1. Bura
4. Pabir, Babir, Babur
5. Kwojeffa

53. 1. Busa
3. Busagwe, Busanse

55. 1. Chakfem-Mushere
2. Cakfem, Chokfem

56. 1. Chamba Daka
2. Daka, Sama, Samba, Tchamba, Tsamba, Jama
3. Nakanyare
4. Deng

57. 1. Chamba Leko
3. Leko, Suntai

58. 1. Cham-Mwana
2. Cham-Mwona

59. 1. Chara
4. Nfachara, Fakara, Pakara, Fachara, Terea, Teria, Terri, Tariya

60. 1. Chawai
2. Chawe, Chawi
4. Atsam

61. 1. Chip
2. Ship

62. 1. Chokobo
2. Cikobu
3. Izora
4. Azora

63. 1. Chomo-Karim
2. Shomoh, Shomong
3. Kiyu, Nuadhu
5. Karim, Kirim

64. 1. Dadiya
2. Nda Dia
5. Boleri

66. 1. Defaka
3. Afakani

67. 1. Degema
3. Atala

68. 1. Dandi
2. Dandawa

69. 1. Deno
3. Bure

70. 1. Dera
2. Deru
3. Kanakuru

71. 1. Dghwede
2. Hude, Johode, Dehoxde, Tghuade, Toghwede, Traude
3. Azaghwana, Wa'a, Zaghmana

72. 1. Dirim
3. Dakka

73. 1. Dirya
2. Diriya
3. Sago, Tsago

75. 1. Dokl-Uyanga
3. Dosanga
4. Basanga
5. Iko

77. 1. Duguza
2. Dugusa

78. 1. Duka
3. Hune, Ethun

80. 1. Dungi
2. Dingi, Dwingi, Dunjawa

81. 1. Ebira
2. Igbirra, Igbira, Egbira, Egbura

82. 1. Edo
2. Oviedo, Ovioba
5. Benim.

83. 1. Efik
5. Calabar

84. 1. Efutop
2. Ofutop
5. Agbaragba

85. 1. Eggon
2. Egon
3. Mada Eggon
4. Megong

86. 1. Egun
2. Gũ
3. Alada

87. 1. Ejagham
6. Ekoi (Efik name)

88. 1. Ekajuk
2. Akajuk

89. 1. Ekit
2. Eket

92. 1. Eloyi
3. Afo, Epe, Aho, Afu, Afao

93. 1. Emai-luleha-Ora
6. Ivbiosakon

94. 1. Emane
2. Amana

95. 1. Engenni
2. Ngene, Egene

96. 1. Epie
3. Epie-Atissa

97. 1. Eruwa
2. Erohwa, Erakwa, Arokwa

98. 1. Esan
2. Ishan
3. Anwain

99. 1. Etulo
2. Utur, Eturo, Turumawa

100. 1. Evant
2. Ovande, Avande
3. Balegete, Belegete

101. 1. Fali
3. Bana (in Cameroun)

102. 1. Fulfulde
3. Fulani, Fula
4. Fulbe
6. Fulani, Filani

103. 1. Fyam
2. Pyam, Pyem, Paiem, Fem, Pem
3. Gyem

104. 1. Fyer
2. Fier

105. 1. Ga'anda
3. Mokar

106. 1. Gade
2. Gede

107. 1. Galambi
2. Galembi, Galambe

108. 1. Gengle
3. Wegele

110. 1. Geruma
2. Gerema, Germa

112. 1. Glavda
2. Galavda, Glanda, Gelebda

113. 1. Groemai
3. Ankwai, Ankwe

115. 1. Gongla
2. Gomla
5. Bajama, Jareng

116. 1. Gubi
2. Guba

117. 1. Gude
3. Cheke, Mapuda, Shede, Tchade, Mapodi
5. Mubi

118. 1. Gudu
2. Gutu

119. 1. Guduf
3. Yaghwatadaxa, Afkabiye, Yawotataxa
4. Gudupe

120. 1. Gure-Kahugu
2. Gura, Kafugu, Kagu, Kapugu
3. (of Gura) Igbiri, Agari, Agbiri (of Kahugu) Anirago

122. 1. Guruntum-Mbaaru
2. Gurutum

125. 1. Gwari
2. Agbari, Gbari, Gwali, Gbagyi

127. 1. Gyem
2. Gema

128. 1. Hausa
3. Abakwariga, Mgbakpa, Habe, Kado

129. 1. Horom
3. Kaleri (erroneous name for Horrom and Mabo Barkul, which are adjacent to Kulere)

130. 1. Hwana
2. Hona, Hwona

131. 1. Hyam
2. Ham, Hum
6. Jaba

134. 1. Ibino
2. Ibuno, Ibeno

135. 1. Icen
2. Ichen, Itchen
3. Kentu, Kyato, Etkywa, Nyidu

136. 1. Icheve
3. Utse, Utser, Utseu
4. Becheve, Bacheve

138. 1. Idon
2. Idong

139. 1. Igala
2. Igara

140. 1. Igbo
2. Ibo

141. 1. Igede
2. Igedde, Egede, Egedde

142. 1. Ijo
2. Ijaw

145. 1. Ikulu
2. Ikolu
4. Ankulu

146. 1. Irigwe
2. Aregwe, Rigwe
3. Nnerigwe
5. Miango, Kwal, Nyango, Kwoll, Kwan

147. 1. Isekiri
2. Itsekiri, Ishekiri, Shekiri, Chekiri, Jekoi, Ijekiri, Jekiri, Ichakiri
3. Iwere, Irhobo, Warri
6. Iselema-Otu (Ijo name for Warri/Itsekiri people), Selemo

148. 1. Isoko
3. Sobo (not recommended: see also under Urhobo), Igabo
6. Biotu

150. 1. Izarek
3. Jari, Jarawa
4. Fizere, Feserek, Afizarek, Afusare, Fezere
6. Jarawan Dutse

152. 1. Janji
2. Jenji
3. Tijanji
4. Anafejanzi, Ajanji

153. 1. Janjo
2. Jenjo, Jen
3. Dza, Gwomo
5. Karenjo

154. 1. Jara
2. Jera

155. 1. Jarawa
3. Jar, Jarawan Kogi

156. 1. Jera
2. Jeere

157. 1. Jidda-Abu
2. Ibut
3. Nakare

160. 1. Jiru-Kir
2. Zhiru
3. Atak, Wiyap, Kir

163. 1. Jukun
2. Njuku

164. 1. Kadara
2. Adara

165. 1. Kagoma
2. Agoma
3. Gwong, Gyong

166. 1. Kaivi
2. Kaibi

167. 1. Kaje
2. Kajji, Kache
3. Jju
4. Baju

168. 1. Kaka
3. Mbem
4. Yamba

170. 1. Kamantam
2. Kamanton
4. Angan

171. 1. Kambari
2. Kamberi

172. 1. Kamkam
3. Kakaba, Bunu, Bungnu

173. 1. Kamo
2. Kamu

175. 1. Kamwe
6. Higi, Hiji,

176. 1. Kana
2. Khana
5. Ogoni

178. 1. Kanuri
5. Borno, Bornu, Kanembu
6. Beriberi

179. 1. Karakare
2. Kerekere, Karaikarai

180. 1. Karfa
2. Kerifa

181. 1. Kariya
2. Kanyawa
6. Lipkawa (see also Barke)

183. 1. Kiballo
2. Kiwollo

185. 1. Kilba.
3. Heba
4. Chobba

186. 1. Kinuku
2. Kinugy, Kinuka

187. 1. Kiong
3. Akoiyang, Akayon, Okoyong, Okonyong

191. 1. Koenoem
2. Kanam

193. 1. Kohumono
3. Ekumuru
4. Bahumono
5. Ediba

194. 1. Koma
2. Kuma

195. 1. Kono
2. Konu, Kwono

197. 1. Korop
3. Durop
4. Ododop

198. 1. Kotopo
4. Potopo, Potopore, Patapori

199. 1. Kpan
2. Kpanten, Ikpan, Akpanzhi Kpanzon, Abakan
3. Kpwate, Hwaye, Hwaso, Nyatso, Nyonyo, Yorda, Ibukwo

200. 1. Kubi
2. Kuba

202. 1. Kugama
3. Wegam

204. 1. Kukele
3. Bakele
4. Ukele

205. 1. Kulere
3. Korom Boye
5. Tof

206. 1. Kulung
4. Bakulung
5. Bambur, Wurkum

207. 1. Kumba
5. Sate, Yofo

209. 1. Kurama
3. Tikurimi, Bagwama (also refers to Ruruma)
4. Akurumi

210. 1. Kushi
2. Kushe
3. Chonge

211. 1. Kuteb
2. Kutev, Kutep
3. Mbarike, Zumper (Jompre): (not recommended)

213. 1. Kuturmi
3. Ada

214. 1. Kuzamani
6. Rishuwa

216. 1. Kwami
2. Kwom

218. 1. Kyibaku
2. Chibak, Icibak, Chibbuk
4. Kikuk

220. 1. Laka
5. Lau, Lao Habe

223. 1. Laru
2. Laro

224. 1. Legbo
2. Agbo
3. Igbo Imaban
4. Agbo
5. Higidi

225. 1. Lela
2. Dakarkari, Dakkarkari
6. Lalawa, Clela, Chilala, Kolela, C-Lela, Cala-Cala

227. 1. Lemoro
2. Limorro
3. Emoro
4. Anemoro
5. Anowuru

228. 1. Lenyima
4. Anyima
6. Inyima

229. 1. Leyigha
3. Asiga
4. Ayiga, Yigha

232. 1. Loke
2. Loko
4. Yakurr, Yako
5. Ugep

233. 1. Longuda
2. Languda, Nunguda
3. Nungura, Nunguraba

234. 1. Lopa
2. Lupa
3. Kirikjir
4. Djiri

235. 1. Lotsu-Piri
3. Kitta

236. 1. Lubila
3. Ojor
4. Kabila

237 1. Lungu
2. Ungu
3. Adong

239. 1. Mabo-Barkul
3. Kaleri (erroneous). Erroneous name for Horom and Mabo Barkul, which are adjacent to Kulere

240. 1. Mada
3. Yidda

241. 1. Magu
3. Mvanip

242. 1. Maha
2. Maka, Maga

243. 1. Mama
3. Kwarra, Kantana

244. 1. Mambila
2. Mambilla, Mambere
3. Bang, Nor Tagbo, Tongbo

248. 1. Mbe
3. Mbube Western, Ketuen, Etumtak

249. 1. Mbembe
3. Okam (of Koelle), Oderiga, Wakande, Ifunubwa, Ekokoma, Ofunobwan (of Thomas)

250. 1. Mbembe (Tigong)
3. Akonto, Nzare
4. Noale
5. Tigong, Tigun, Tugun, Tukun

251. 1. Mboi
2. Mboire, Mboyi

253. 1. Mbute
2. Bute, Vute
4. Mbutere

254. 1. Migili
2. Megili
3. Koro of Lafia

256. 1. Miya
2. Muya

257. 1. Mober
2. Mavar

258. 1. Montol
3. Teel
5. Baltap

259. 1. Mumbake
2. Mubako
4. Nyongnepa

264. 1. Naraguta
3. Iguta
4. Anaguta

266. 1. Ndoe
3. Anep

268. 1. Ngamo
2. Gamo

269. 1. Nggwahyi
2. Ngwaxi, Ngwohi

270. 1. Ngoshe Ndhang
2. Ngweshe, Ndaghan
3. Ngoshe Sama

271. 1. Ngwoi
2. Ngwe, Ungwe, Ingwe, Nkwoi

272. 1. Ninzam
3. Gbhu

274. 1. Nkukoli
2. Nkokolle
3. Lokukoli
5. Ekuri

275. 1. Nnam
3. Ndem

276. 1. Numana-Nunku-Gwantu
5. Sanga

277. 1. Nungu
3. Rindre, Rendre, Rindiri, Lindiri
5. Wamba

279. 1. Nyamnyam
2. Niamniam
3. Nimbari, Bari

280. 1. Nzangi
2. Njanyi, Njai, Njei, Zany, Jenge, Jeng,
6. Paka

281. 1. Obanliku
2. Abanliku

282. 1. Obolo
5. Andoni

284. 1. Odual
3. Saka

286. 1. Ogbia
2. Obginya

288. 1. Ogbronuagum
5. Bukuma

291. 1. Okpamheri
2. Opameri

294. 1. Oring
2. Orri
3. Koring

295. 1. Oron
3. Oro

297. 1. Otank
2. Utanga

298. 1. Pa'a
2. Pala, Afa, Fa'awa
4. Foni

299. 1. Pai
3. Dalong

301. 1. Passam
3. Nyisam

302. 1. Pero
3. Pipero
5. Filiya

304. 1. Piti
2. Pitti
3. Abisi, Bisi

305. 1. Piya
2. Pia
5. Wurkum

306. 1. Pongu
4. Arringeu

309. 1. Reshe
3. Tsureshe, Tsure Ja, Gunganci
4. Bareshe
6. Gungawa

310. 1. Roba
3. Lalla, Lala
5, Gworam

311. 1. Rukuba
3. Sale, Inchazi, Kuche
4. Bache

312. 1. Rumaya
2. Rumaiya

313. 1. Rurama
3. Bagwama (also refers to Kurama)

317. 1. Shagawu
2. Shagau
3. Nafunfia, Maleni

319. 1. Shanga
2. Shonga, Kyenga, Kenga, Tyenga

320. 1. Shani
2. Sheni, Shaini
4. Asennize

321. 1. Shuwa Arabic
2. Shua

323. 1. Sukur
2. Sugur
3. Adikummu Sukur, Gemasakun

324. 1. Sura
3. Mwaghavul, Mupun, Mapan

325. 1. Surubu
2. Srubu, Skrubu, Zurubu
3. Fiti

326. 1. Tal
3. Amtul
5. Kwabzak

328. 1. Tambas
2. Tembis

329. 1. Tangale
2. Tangle
5. Biliri

330. 1. Tapshin
2. Suru
5. Myet

331. 1. Tarok
3. Appa, Yergam, Yergum

334. 1. Tita
3. Hoai Petel

335. 1. Tiv
6. Munshi (not recommended)

336. 1. Tula
2. Ture

341. 1. Ukaan
2. Ikan
5. Anyaran, Auga

343. 1. Ukue-Ehuen
5. Ekpenni

345. 1. Umon
2. Amon

346. 1. Uneme
2. Uleme, Ileme, Ineme

347. 1. Ura
2. Ula

348. 1. Urhobo
2. Sobo (not recommended: see also Isoko)
6. Biotu (see also Isoko)

349. 1. Utugwang
2. Putukwam
3. Mbe Afal, Mbube Eastern, Obe

350. 1. Uzekwe
2. Ezekwe

351. 1. Verre
2. Were, Vere

352. 1. Vimtim
2. Yimtim
3. Fali of Mubi, Fali of Muchella

353. 1. Waja
2. Wagga

355. 1. Wandala
2. Mandara, Ndara

356. 1. Warji
3. Sar

357. 1. Wom
3. Pereba

358. 1. Yala
4. Iyala

359. 1. Yandang
2. Yendam, Hendang, Yundum, Nyandang

361. 1. Yekhee
3. Iyekhee, Afemmai, Kukuruku (not recommended), Etsako

362. 1. Yeskwa
2. Yasgua

363. 1. Yiwom
3. Gerka, Gurka

365. 1. Yukuben
2. Nyikuben, Nyikobe, Ayikiben
3. Boritsu, Balaabe
4. Oohum

366. 1. Yungur
3. Ebena, Ebina
4. Bena, Binna

368. 1. Zarma
2. Zerma, Dyerma, Dyarma, Djerma
6. Zabarma, Zarbarma

CHAPITRE 5

DIALECTS, DIALECT CLUSTER, AND LANGUAGE CLUSTER IN NIGERIAN LANGUAGES

Obviously, there are hundreds of different speech forms used in Nigeria, but not all of them qualify to be considered as languages in themselves. During the survey, we were therefore confronted with the problem of deciding what are separate or distinct languages and what are dialects of one language.

The problem arises from the nature of language itself. Changes in language occur over time and space. Languages change slowly but constantly in certain ways in words, sounds and grammatical constructions from generations to generations. Different changes occur in different parts of a language area. There are many reasons for this. Speakers living in one part of the area, for instance, are in contact with speakers of a neighbouring language and are influenced by some of the features of that language, whereas speakers living in another part of the language area seldom meet people from that other language, but are themselves influenced by a different language. In Igbo language, we can cite Ika, Ukwuani, Abakaliki, Egbema, etc., as examples of different areas of the language. Language change occurs also when groups of speakers migrate and are physically cut off from other speakers of the language. For instance, before their repatriation to Nigeria, one had started to notice some differentiation in the Igbo spoken by the Ibo emigrants to the Island of Fernando Po in Equatorial Guinea. As different changes occur in different parts of the total language area, so dialects develop. Given enough time, these dialects will diverge further and further apart. But at what point do diverging dialects become separate languages? Unfortunately, there is no simple way of deciding whether two speech forms are separate languages or dialects of one language. There are no absolute or even generally accepted criteria.

If speakers can understand one another without having to learn the other speech form, it is usual to regard their speech as one language and to consider differences between them as constituting dialect differences. In some instances, it is clear that speakers of one group can understand speakers of another group even though they pronounce some words differently, or have different words for some objects and activities. At the opposite extreme, it is often clear that speakers from one group cannot understand a single word of the other group and vice versa. Unquestionably they speak different languages. But in between these situations there are many others, for instance, where people of one group can understand a little of the speech of the other group, or if they go and live with that group, within a few weeks they learn to understand the speech of the people around them.

Certain aspects of language can be measured quite accurately by linguists. They can take lists of words from different speakers and compare them. They can see what percentage of the words are the same and whether the words are related by having some common origin or root in a parent language. They can calculate the degree of differences between words.

It is common for instance, for linguists to compare lists of words from two languages and calculate the percentage or words in the lists that are related. If 80% of the words compared are related, there is a good probability that these two speech forms are a single language. The converse is equally true, so that if the percentage figure of related words drops below 80%, it becomes increasingly unlikely that these speech forms can be regarded as a single language. It should be pointed out that the figure of 80% concerns related words, not identical vocabulary. Thus 'Rapu' in one dialect (Onitsha Igbo) can be demonstrated to be related to 'satu' in another (Aboh Igbo) through regular sound correspondences even though the two words are far from being identical. The percentage of identical or almost identical words will be less than 50 per cent where the percentage of related words is 80%.

But comparisons of this type do not yield any absolute indication of whether the people of Group A can understand the people of Group B. Mutual intelligibility does not correlate exactly with linguistic measurements of this kind. There are many sociological factors that have direct bearing on whether people understand one another. For instance, how much contact have the two groups had with each other? What is their attitude to each other? Are they at feud with each other? Are they connected by marriage and trade relations? No one has yet found a way to measure these important factors to establish a degree of mutual intelligibility between groups.

Linguistic measurements and sociological measurements are at present inadequate to determine whether speech forms are dialects or languages. Methods for measuring mutual intelligibility by testing a sample of speakers from two groups and measuring how far they can understand one another's speech, are being developed but they have only been done on a small scale because such testing is a lengthy business.

But even with improved mutual intelligibility testing, there will still be borderline cases which will have to be settled more on sociological than on linguistic grounds. For instance, the level of understanding that Group A has of the language of Group B might be scored at 83%. With another two groups, Group C might score 82% with Group D. These mutual intelligibility tests would suggest that a similar situation exists with both pairs of dialects or languages, but because this level of mutual intelligibility is marginal, other factors might make appreciable differences. For example, Group A might be at loggerheads with Group B and refuse to have anything to do with them, while Groupe C might recognise themselves as brothers of Group D and want to strengthen their common ties. In a case of this sort, the speakers of Groups C and D might regard themselves as speaking a common language and recognize their individual speech forms as dialects of that language, whereas the speakers in Groups A and B might well regard themselves as speaking two separate languages.

Dialects have been listed as a single language where, as far as can be ascertained, either all speakers can understand one another or all speakers accept one form of the language as a standard form. Yoruba and Nupe provide examples of the latter: even though not all speakers may understand one another, there is certainly a standard form of the language which is very widely recognized. The recognition of speakers that their various speech forms constitute a single language is very significant. Normally when there is such recognition, it is found that at least 80% of the vocabulary are related words.

There are about twenty dialects of Yoruba spoken in areas such as Ijebu, Oyo, Ondo and Ekiti. These are Bunu, Oyo, Ife, Ila, Ijesha, Ijebu, Ondo, Owo, Owe, Jumu, Igbena, Yagba, Gbedde, Egba, Akono, Ekitu, Ilaje, Ikale, Awori and Aworo. There exists however a Central or Standard Yoruba, largely based on

the Oyo dialect, though not identical with it, which is used in publications, broadcasts, and between people of different dialects.

Nupe is another example of a language with a recognizedcentral or standard form. It has about five main dialects spoken in Bida, Kontagora and Minna Divisions in Niger State, and the Pategi-Lafia, Igbomena-Ekiti, Kogi and Dekina Divisions in Kwara State. These are Nupe Central, Ganagana, Kakanda, Bassa-Nge, and Eggan. The central or standard Nupe is based on the dialect spoken in the urban areas of Bida Emirate, more particularly in the towns of Bida itself and Agaie.

Another situation exists where there are a group of dialects which are clearly closely related linguistically with at least 80% related words and where there is a considerable degree of mutual intelligibility between the groups, but where no one speech form has become the standard form of the group. The term Dialect Cluster is used for this situation. Idoma and Ejagham are examples of dialect clusters. In a dialect cluster there may be considerable differences in the level of mutual intelligibility between the different dialects and there can be dialect chains where speakers of dialect A understand speakers of dialects B and C but not D, while speakers of dialects B and C understand all the dialects, but speakers of dialect D understand dialects B and C, but not A. Taking the group as a whole, however, there is very considerable mutual intelligibility even if this is not complete. There may also be considerable variation in the degree to which speakers of such dialect clusters have of any sense of belonging to a single language. There is usually some recognition of having a similar speech in contrast to other neighbouring groups but the strength of this recognition may not be very great. In general, a dialect cluster can be considered to be the equivalent of one language.

A third situation exists where a group of speech forms are clearly related but below the level of 80% related words and where mutual intelligibility is less, so that it seems inappropriate to use the term dialect cluster. Sometimes speakers of one group may be able to understand speakers from another group, but not vice versa. Not all the groups recognize the other speech forms as the same language as their own. The linguistic relationships, the level of mutual intelligibility and the degree of recognition are lower than in the case of dialect cluster. In such instances, the term Language Cluster has been used, provided that the percentage of related words is not less than 70%. Ijo is an example of a language cluster. A Nigerian language cluster can be considered as a group of closely related languages, in which the various speech forms would have been regarded as constituting a single language if there is a goodwill on the part of all concerned to evolve a common language.

With clusters of both types, there is often a problem when there is no obvious name that will serve for the whole cluster. The ideal solution for a name is to use a name for the cluster that is not the same as any one member of the cluster; as has been done in the case of Akoko North. The eight dialects belonging to this cluster all have different names. When there is no such name that can be used, sometimes the name of one of the members of the cluster can serve for the whole cluster, as for example, Agwagwune is used for the cluster and also for one of the groups within the cluster. A third possibility is to hyphenate the members of the cluster, as has been with Emai-Iluleha-Ora. Eventually a separate name may emerge.

From this discussion, it will be seen that the term 'dialect' is not used to mean a minor language. The terms 'dialect' and 'language' have nothing to do with the number of speakers using them. A speech form which is not closely related to any other speech form (as can be accurately demonstrated by comparing

its vocabulary) is a language whether it is spoken by five hundred or five million people. Dialects may be spoken by a few hundred people or by millions of people, as in the case of Hausa or English, but they are still dialects, variant forms of one language. Size does not change a dialect into a language, nor a language into a dialect.

Nor does the term 'dialect' mean a language which is not yet written, or which does not have its own literature. The terms 'dialect' and 'language' have nothing to do with the feasibility or desirability of using various speech forms to develop new literature, or of utilizing such languages in schools. Questions of language use should be kept separate from questions of language listing. Listing languages as it is being done in this survey does not imply for one moment that all these speech forms should be used in the same way or be encouraged to develop the same range of literature. Social, economic, political, religious and cultural factors all have vital bearing upon how languages are used and developed, but they cannot alter the scientific and objectively verifiable fact that the speech of a given group is a language distinct from the speech of any other people in the world.

A dialect is not a language and the two terms cannot be used indiscriminately or to convey some feeling about the status or use of a speech form. A dialect does not exist in isolation, on its own. A dialect is always a dialect of some language. Some languages have no dialects. In such instances, though individual speakers vary in the way they speak, there is no group of people among the speakers of that language who speak in specific ways which can be contrasted significantly to the way another group speaks. Other languages have many dialects. In other words, in such instances, it is possible to divide speakers of the language into many groups because of the way they speak. Essentially then, dialects are sub-divisions of languages.

We have stressed the difficulty in determining whether certain speech forms are dialects or languages. This is because the information available concerning linguistic relationships or the level of mutual intelligibility or the sociological factors is still limited and patchy. In some instances, we have had direct access to language material which enables us to make an approximation of whether the two groups are likely to be able to understand each other, but we have had no information on mutual intelligibility or the degree to which groups of speakers recognise one another as speakers of one language. In other instances, our information is only second hand. Very often there is little objective information available. As more information is obtained, revisions will need to be made. Some entries now given as separate languages will turn out to be dialects of one language, while other entries now grouped together as dialects of one language will need to be re-arranged as two languages.

The fact that we do not yet have enough information to determine the status of all the speech forms in the country should not obscure the fact that there is no doubt at all about the status of a very large majority of the languages in this list. The re-arrangement of dialects and languages mentioned above are not likely to have any major effect on more than five per cent of the entries in this list. More detailed information as to the number of people who speak the different languages, their exact location, the number of dialects etc. will add greatly to the value of the survey, but will not appreciably change the picture of the overall language situation in Nigeria which our study reflects.

The entries in Table 4 are arranged alphabetically, each containing some of the following information:

1. 1. Name of language
   2. Dialects
   3. Dialect Cluster: (A, B, C, etc.) name
      i: alternative spellings for reference names
      ii: alternative names of language
      iii: people's name for themselves (where this is known and where it differs from reference name)
      iv: alternative name of language by reference to where it is spoken
      v: alternative names of people
      vi: location
      vii: population
      viii: sub-dialects
      ix: general literature (if any)
   4. Language Cluster: (1, 2, 3, etc.) name
      a) alternative spellings for reference names
      b) alternative names of language
      c) people's name for themselves (where this is known and where it differs from reference name)
      d) alternative name of language by reference to where it is spoken
      e) alternative names of people
      f) location
      g) population
      h) sub-dialects
      i) general literature (if any)

TABLE 4

DIALECTS, DIALECT CLUSTER, AND LANGUAGE CLUSTER IN NIGERIAN LANGUAGES

5) 1. Agoi
   2. Iko

6) 1. Agwagwune
   3. Dialect Cluster:

   A) Agwagwune
      i: Akanuka (not recommended)
         Akurakura (of Koelle), Gwune
      vi: Cross River State, Akamkpa Division, Egup-Ipa Development Area
      ix: St. Luke 1894

   B) Erei
      ii: Enna
      iii: Ezei
      vi: Cross River State, Akamkpa Division, Erei Development Area

   C) Abini
      ii: Obini, Abiri
      vi: Cross River State, Akamkpa Division, Egup-Ipa Development Area

   D) Adim
      ii: Odim, Orum
      vi: Cross River State, Akamkpa Division, Egup-Ipa Development Area

E) Abayongo
i: Bayono, Bayino
vi: Cross River State, Akamkpa Division, Egup-Ipa Developmement Area

F) Etono II
iii: Etuno
vi: Cross River State, Akamkpa Division, Ubeghara Development Area

8) 1. Akoko North
3. Dialect Cluster:

A) Oyin
vi: Ondo, State, Akoko Division

B) Udo
i: Ido
vi: Ondo State, Akoko Division

C) Uro
vi: Ondo State, Akoko Division

D) Arigidi
vi: Ondo State, Akoko Division

E) Erusu
vi: Ondo State, Akoko Division

F) Ahan
vi: Ondo State, Akoko Division

G) Ayere
vi: Kwara State, Kabba Division, Ijumu District

H) Oke-Agbe
vi: Ondo State, Akoko Division

I) Agfa

J) Oge

K) Aje

9) 1. Akpa-Yache
3. Dialect Cluster:

A) Akpa
ii: Akweya
vi: Benue State, Oturkpo Division, Akweya and Boju Districts
vii: 5,500 (1952 RGA)

B) Yache
i: Yatye, Iyace
vi: Cross River State, Ogoja Division
vii: 6,600 (1937 RGA)

10) 1. Akpes
2. Akunnu, Ikeram, Ibaram, Iyani, Gedegede, Daja, Efifa

11) 1. Akpet-Ehom
3. Dialect Cluster:

A) Akpet
i: Ukpet

B) Ehom
ii: Ubeteng
iii: Uveteng

12) 1. Alago
2. Agwatashi, Assaikio, Doma, Keana

16) 1. Angas
2. Hill and Plain

22) 1. Bade
4. Language cluster:

(1) Duwai
f) Borno State, Bedde and Borno Divisions, Borsari District

(2) Bade
f) Borno State, Bedde Division, Kano State, Hadeja Division, Guri District
h) Western, Southern, Gashua

(3) Ngizim
a) Ngezzim
f) Borno State, Fika Division, Potiskum and Fika Districts
g) 39,200 (W & B)

26) 1. Bandawa-Minda
2. Bandawa, Minda, Kunini

29) 1. Barawa
4. Language cluster:

(1) Geji

3. Dialect Cluster:

A) Bolu
ii: Megang
iv: Pelu
vi: Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Jema'a District
vii: 1,250 (LA 1971)

B) Geji
ii: Gyaazi
v: Gezawa, Gaejawa
vi: Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Jema'a District
vii: 650 (LA 1971)

C) Zaranda
ii: Buu
vi: Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Jema'a District
vii: 750)LA 1971)

(2) Polci

3. Dialect Cluster

A) Zul
ii: Mbarmi, Barma
vi: Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Jema'a District
vii: 2,400 (LA 1971)

B) Baram
i: Barang, Mbaram
vi: Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Zungur District

C) Dir
i: Diir
vi: Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Zungur District

D) Buli
i: Bele
vi: Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Zungur District

E) Langas
ii: Nyanzax
iv: Lundur
vi: Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Zungur District
vii: 200 (LA 1971)

F) Polci
i: Pose, Polshi, Palci
vi: Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Dass, Zungur and Jema'a Districts
vii: 2,950 (LA 1971)

(3) Zeem

3. Dialect Cluster:

A) Zeem
v: Tulai
vi: Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Jema'a District;
Plateau State, Jarawa District

B) Danshe
i: Chaari
vi: Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Jema'a District:
Plateau State, Jarawa District

C) Lushi
i: Lukshi
ii: Dokshi
Vi: Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Jema'a District

(4) Dass

3. Dialect Cluster:

A) Lukshi
ii: Dekshi
vi: Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Dass District
vii: 1,130 (LA 1971)

B) Durr-Baraza
ii: Bandas
vi: Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Dass District
vii: 4,700 (LA 1971)

C) Zumbel
i: Boodle
vi: Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Dass District
vii: see Wandi below

D) Wandi
i: Wangday
vi: Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Dass District
vii: 700 (including Zumbul) (LA 1971)

E) Dot
i: Dwat
ii: Zodi
vi: Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Dass District
vii: 2,300 (LA 1971)

(5) Zari

3. Dialect Cluster:

A) Zakshi
i: Zakse
vi: Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Jema'a District
vii: 2,950 (1919 HDG)

B) Boto
i: Boot
v: Bibot
vi: Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Lere District
vii: 1,000 (1950 HDG)

C) Zari
iv: Kopti, Kwapm
vi: Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Jema'a District

(6) Saya

3. Dialect Cluster:

A) Sigidi
i: Sugud, Sigdi, Segiddi
vi: Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Lere District
vii: 775 (1950 HDG)

B) Zaar
ii: Vikzar, Vigzar
iii: Saya, Seya, Seiyara
vi: Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Lere District
viii: Kal, Gambar Leere, Lusa

34) 1. Bata
3. Dialect Cluster:

A) Bacama
i: Bachama
iii: Gboare
vi: Gongola State, Numan Division, Bachama and Batta Districts
vii: 11,250 (1952) 20,000 (1963)
viii: Mulyen (Mulwyin), etc.
ix: St. Mark 1915

B) Bata
i: Batta
vi: Gongola State, Numan Division, Batta District;
Adamawa Division, Districts of Yola-Jimeta, Ribadu, Gurin

Wafango, Mayo, Belwa, Song, Girei, Zumo and Balala; Mubi Division, Districts of Maiha, Sorau and Belel, also in Cameroun
vii: 26,400 (1952); estimated 2,000 in Cameroun
viii: Kobotschi, Wadi, Zumu (Jimo), Malabu, Bata of Ribaw, Bata of Demsa, Bata of Garoua, Jirai

39) 1. Berom
2. Gyel (Ngell)-Kuru-Vwang; Fan-Foron-Keikpang; Bachit-Gashish; Du-Ropp-Rim; Hoss (?)

41) 1. Bette-Bendi
2. Bette, Bendi

48) 1. Bole
2. Bara, etc.

49) 1. Buduma
2. Buduma, Kuri

51) 1. Bura
2. Bura Pela (Hill Bura), Bura Hyil Hawul (Plain Bura)

53) 1. Busa
2. Wawa, Bakobaru (Kaiama, Zogbme, Zugweya), Boko (Boo) in Benin Republic

54) 1. Buta-Ningi
2. Buta, Ningi

55) 1. Chakfem-Mushere
2. Kadim-Kaban, etc.

61) 1. Chip
2. Doka

65) 1. Daffo-Batura
2. Daffo, Batura, Mangar, Monguna

70) 1. Dera
2. Shellem and Gasi

78) 1. Duka
2. Western and Eastern

81) 1. Ebira
2. Hima (Ihima), including Okene, Igara (Etuno) of Bendel State, Igu (Egu, Ika, Bira, Biri)

85) 1. Eggon
2. Matatarwa, Matengala

87) 1. Ejagham
2. 5 dialects in Nigeria; 4 in Cameroun
3. Dialect Cluster:

A) Bendeghe
i: Bindege, Bindega
ii: Mbuma
vi: Cross River State, Ikom Division

B) Etung North
iv: Icuatai
vi; Cross River State, Ikom Division
ix: Reading and Writing Book 1966; Tortoise Stories 1969; Folk Stories 1969; Stories of Abraham 1969

C) Etung South
vi: Cross River State, Ikom and Akamkpa Divisions
vii: 4,200 (1963)

D) Ejagham
ii: Ekwe, Ejagam
vi: Cross River State, Akamkpa Division; and in Cameroun
ix: Primers 1-3 1969; English-Ejagham-French Vocabulary 1970; Bible translation in progress in Cameroun

E) Ekin
ii: Abakpa
iv: Qua, Kwa, Aqua
vi; Cross River State, Calabar Division

90) 1. Ekpeye
2. Ako, Upata, Ubye, Igbuduya

92) 1. Eloyi
2. Mbeci, Mbamu

93) 1. Emai-Iuleha-Ora
2. Ivhimion
3. Dialect Cluster:

A) Emai

B) Iuleha

C) Ora

98) 1. Esan
2. Many dialects

101) 1. Fali
2. Gili, Bwagira, Thlukfu, Peski

102) 1. Fulfulde
2. Dialects in Nigeria: Kano, Katsina, Adamawa

105) 1. Ga'anda
2. Ga'anda, Gabin, Boka (Boga)

112) 1. Glavda
2. Ghboko, Bokwa, Ngoshie (Ngweshe), Glavda

119) 1. Guduf
2. Guduf, Cikide (Chikide), Gava

120) 1. Gure-Kahugu
2. Gure, Kahugu

124) 1. Gwandara
2. Gwandara Karashi, Gwandara Koro, Kyan Kyar, Gwandara Gitate, Toni

125) 1. Gwari
4. Language Cluster:

(1) Gwari Matai
b) East Gwari
f) Niger State, Minna and Abuja Divisions; Kaduna State, Birnin Gwari Division, Chikun District; Plateau State, Nasarawa Division, Districts of Nasarawa, Gadabuke, Toto, Loko and Umaisha; Keffi Division, Gitata and Karu Districts
h) Vwezhi, Ngenge (Genge, Gyange) or Tawari, Kuta, Diko, Karu, Louome, Kaduna
i) Some Literature produced; Kuta: New Testament 1956 Scripture portions 1912

(2) Gwari Yamma
b) West Gwari
f) Niger State, Divisions of Minna, Abuja and Agaie-Lapai Districts; Plateau State, Nasarawa Division, Gadabuke District
h) Botai, Jezhu, Kong, Kwange (Agbawi, Wake Wi), Wake, or Kwali, Paiko, Izem, Gayegi
i) Some Literature produced; St. John in Paiko 1926; St. Mark in Gayegi 1925

128) 1. Hausa
2. Eastern (Sokoto, Katagum, Hadejiya), Western (Sokoto, Katsina, Gobirawa, Adarawa, Kebbawa, Zamfarawa), North (Arewa)

133) 1. Ibibio
2. Enyong, etc.

137) 1. Idoma
3. Dialect Cluster:

A) Idoma North
iv: Agatu and Ochekwu
vi: Benue State, Oturkpo Division, Districts of Agatu, Ochekwu and Adoka
vii: 56,000 (1952 RGA)
viii: Agatu, Ochekwu
ix: Primer I; Reader I; New Testament due 1976 in Agatu; Scripture portions from 1951; Hymnbook; 4 Christian books; 4 Bible Correspondence courses; various tracts and booklets

B) Idoma Central
ii: Akpoto
iv: Oturkpo
vi: Benue State, Oturkpo Division, Districts of Boju, Yangedde, Oblewu, Oturkpo, Otukpa and Okwoga
vii: 66,000 (1952 RGA).
ix: Primer; New Testament 1970; Scripture portions from 1927; Methodist Catechism; Methodist hymnbook SGM booklets 1963-70

C) Idoma West
vi: Benue State, Oturkpo Division, Districts of Otukpa, Orokam, Orukpa, Ichama, Utonkon and Okwoga
vii: 60,000 (1952 RGA)

D) Idoma South
iv: Igumale, Igwaale, Ijigbam
vi: Benue State, Oturkpo Division, Igumale, Ijigbam and Agala Districts
vii: 13,500 (1952 RGA)
ix: St. John; Acts (n.d.)

139) 1. Igala
2. Idah, Ankpa, Ebu and Ibaji

140) 1. Igbo
2. A large number of dialects, eg. Onitsha, Owerri, Orlu, Ohuhu, Ngwa, Afikpo, Nsukka, Oguta, Aniocha, etc., varying in mutual intelligibility. Central Igbo, based chiefly on the dialects of the Owerri and Umuahia areas, is accepted for written Igbo and a standard form is developping.
The following, often regarded as dialects of Igbo, are here treated as separate though closely related within the Igbo language cluster, on purely linguistic grounds: Ika, Ukwuani-Aboh, Ogbah, Ikwere, the Izi-Ezaa-Ikwo-Mgbo cluster. Ekpeye, though closely related, is treated separately. Eche and Egbema, though regarded as languages of Rivers States, are probably not distinct enough from outlying dialects of Igbo to be treated as distinct languages on purely linguistic grounds.

4. Language Cluster:

(1)
f) Bendel State, Agbor Division, Ishan and East Benin Divisions
h) "The dialect spoken around Agbor, the Administrative and commercial headquarters, appears to be developing into a standard form. Further east and south from this centre, the similarity between Ika and Igbo gets closer". (Report of the Committee on Languages of Mid-West State, p. 12)
i) 2 Primers

(2) Ukwuani-Aboh
f) Bendel State, Divisions of Aboh, Aniocha and Isoko

3. Dialect Cluster:

A) Ukwuani
i: Ukwani, Ukwali, Kwale
ix: 1 Primer

B) Aboh
i: Eboh

(3) Ogbah
a) Ogba
f) Rivers State, Ogba-Egbema Division
g) 22,750 (1940 F & J)
h) Egi, South Ogba, West Ogba
i) Rivers Readers Project Reader I 1972; Reading and Writing Book.

(4) Ikwere
a) Ikwerre
f) Rivers State, Divisions of Ikwerre, Kalabari and Obio
g) 54,600 (1940 F & J)
h) Obio, Akpo-Mgbu-Tolu, Ogbakiri, Emowhua, Ndele, Elele, Omerelu, Egbeda, Aluu, Igwuruta, Ibaa, Isiokpo and Omagwa
i) Rivers Readers Project: Reader I 1970; Reading and Writing Book; Primer (other than Rivers Readers Project); Traditional proverbs 1975

(5) Izi-Ezaa-Ikwo-Mgbo

3. Dialect Cluster:

A) Izi
i: Izzi
vi: Anambra State, Divisions of Izi and Ishielu; and Abakaliki District
vii: 84,000 (1940 F & J)
ix: Reading and Writing Book 1967; Primer 1975; 4 Post-Primers 1972-1974; New Testament in final stages 1976; Scripture portions from 1971; Hymnbooks 1972 and 1975

B) Ezaa
i: Eza
vi: Anambra State, Ishielu and Ezzikwo Divisions; Imo State, Afikpo Division
vii: 93,800 (1940 F & J)
ix: Trial Primer 1973; 2 Post-Primers 1974-75; New Testament in final stages 1976; Scripture portions from 1973; Hymnbook 1972

C) Ikwo
vi: Anambra State, Divisions of Ezzikwo, Izi and Ishielu
vii: 38,500 (1940 F & J)
ix: Reading and Writing Book 1973; Trial Primer 1973; 3 Post-Primers 1974-75; New Testament in final Stages 1976; Scripture portions from 1973; Hymnbook 1972

D) Mgbo
i: Ngbo
vi: Anambra State, Ishielu Division
vii: 19,600 (1940 F & J)

141) 1. Igede
2. Oju (Central), Ito, Worku, Gabu (Ogoja Division)

142) 1. Ijo
4. Language Cluster:

(1) North-Eastern Ijo
f) Rivers State, Divisions of Kalabari, Bonny, Okvika; Cross River State, Opobo Division

3. Dialect Cluster:

A) Kalabari
ix: Primer 1949, 1962; booklet 1953, Shell booklet 1957;

Rivers Readers Project Book I 1971, Reading and Writing Book 1971; English-Kalabari phrase book; Bible translation in progress; Christian handbook (Scripture passages and hymns); prayer and hymnbook 1951

B) Okrika
i: Kirike
ix: Primer, Readers 1-2 1969; Rivers Readers Project Book I 1972; Reading and Writing Book 1972; Traditional proverbs 1960; Bible translation in progress; prayer and hymnbook 1954

C) Ibani
i: Ubani, Bonny
ix: 2 Primers 1870; Ibani Reader 1947, 1975; readers 1947, 1969; vocabulary 1903; Rivers Readers Project Book I 1971; Reading and Writing book 1971; Scripture portions 1870; prayer and hymnbook 1954; St. Mark (pending).

D) Nkoro
i: Nkoroo
ii: Kirike
ix: Part of the Book of Common Prayer (recent)

(2) South-Eastern Ijo (Nembe)
b) Brass
f) Rivers State, Brass Division
h) Nembe, Akassa
i) Primers 1862, 1911; Traditional folktales 1963; Rivers Readers Project Reader I 1970; Nembe-English Dictionary 1964-6; English-Nembe Phrase Book 1967; and other literature; Bible 1956; New Testament 1927; Scripture portions from 1856; Catechism 1856; Various prayer and hymnbooks 1856-1962; Pilgrim's Progress 1967

(3) North-East Central Ijo (Ijo Biseni-Okordia)
f) Rivers State, Yenagoa Division

3. Dialect Cluster:

A) Biseni
i: Buseni
iv: Amegi

B) Okordia

(4) Central Ijo
b) Izon, Izo, Uzo
f) Rivers State, Yenagoa, Oporoma and Koluama Divisions; Bendel State, Western Ijaw and West Benin Divisions; Ondo State, Okitipupa Division
h) A large number of generally mutually intelligible dialects, roughly grouped as follows (where clan names are usually equivalent to dialects):
North-Central: Kolokuma, Gbanrain, Ekpetiama (in Rivers State, Yenagoa Division); South-Central: Olodiana East, Ikibiri, Tarakiri East, Boma, Apoi, Bassan Oporoma, Oiakiri, Ogboin in Oporoma and Koluama Divisions of Rivers States; North-Western: Mein, Kabo (Patani), Tarakiri West, Tuomo, Operemo, Seimbri in Western Ijaw Division; South-Western: Iduwini,

Ogulagha, Oporoza (Gbaranmatu), Ogbe Ijo, Arogbo, Egbema, Warri and West Benin Divisions of Bendel State and Okitipupa Division of Ondo State.

i) Rivers Readers Project Reader I 1969; Reading and Writing Book 1969, in Kolokuma dialect; various other items in other dialects; Bible translation in progress in Kolokuma; Scripture portions in various dialects from 1912, various prayer and hymnbooks.

149) 1. Ivbie North-Okpela-Atte
3. Dialect Cluster:

A) Ivbie North

B) Okpela

C) Atte

I) Ate

150) 1. Izarek
2. Fobur, Shere, Fedare, Fursum, Zendi, Ichen, Ganang, Firan (Kwakwi), Faishang

155) 1. Jarawa
2. Dialect Cluster:

A) Bankal
i: Bankala
ii: Baranci
vi: Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Districts of Dass, Zungur, Bula and Jema'a
vii: 20,000 (LA 1971)

B) Ligri
vi: Gongola State, Muri Division, Muri and Wurkum Districts

C) Kanam
vi: Plateau State, Langtang Division, Kanam District

D) Bobar
vi: Spoken but location unknown

E) Gingwak
i: Gwak
ii: Jarawan Bununu, Jaracin Kasa
vi: Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Dass and Bula Districts
vii: 19,000 (LA 1971)

F) Duguri of Gar
vi: Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Duguri District

G) Duguri of Badara
vi: Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Bula District

H) North-East Duguri
vi: Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Duguri District

I) South-West Duguri
vi: Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Bula and Lere Districts; Plateau State, Langtang Division, Kabwir District

J) Bada
i: Mbada, Mbat, Bat, Kanna
ii: Jar, Jarawan Kogi, Garaka
vi: Plateau State, Langtang Division, Kanam and Kabwir Districts; Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Bula District
viii: Kantana, etc.

156) 1. Jera
3. Dialect Cluster:

A) Buji
i: Eboze
iii: Anabeze
vi: Plateau State, Jos Division, Buji District
vii: 2,350 (1936 HDG)

B) Gusu
i: Gussum
ii: Isanga, Anibau, Anosangobari
iii: Asanga
vi: Plateau State, Jos Division, Jere District; Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Lame District
vii: 2,350 (1936 HDG)

C) Jere
i: Ezelle
iii: Anazele, Azelle
iv: Jengre
vi: Plateau State, Jos Division, Jere District; Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Jema'a District
vii: 4,500 (1936 HDG)

D) Ribina
i: Rebina
ii: Anorubuna, Narabuna, Bunu, Ibunu
iv: Loro
vi: Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Lame District; Plateau State, Jos Division, Buji District
vii: 2,000 (La 1971)+ Gurrum 850 (1936 HDG)
viii: Gurrum (Anegorom)

163) 1. Jukun
4. Language Cluster:

(1) Wukari Jukun
b) Wapan
f) Gongola State, Wukari Division, Districts of Kinda Kuvyo, Suntai, Ugondo Shitive, Chenchenji, Kato Bagha, Kucio, Wukari and Kindabyi; Plateau State, Divisions of Shendam, Lafia and Langtang (precise areas uncertain)
i) Primer 1915; Primers 1-3 (recent); literacy programme in progress; Bible translation in progress; Scripture portions since 1914

(2) Takum and Donga Jukun
b) Jibu Koine (of Shimizu)
f) Gongola State, Wukari Division, Districts of Suntai,

Chenchenji, Gayam, Gindin Dutse, Likam, Ayikiben and Kashimbila

h) Takum, Donga

i) Donga: Primer 1915; Takum: Primers 1-7 1966-1975; 6 Post-Primers: Jukun Grammar and wordlist in Hausa; English-Jukun wordlist 1966-67; literacy programme in progress; Donga: Gospel portions 1919; Takum: Bible translation in progress; Scripture portions since 1969; liturgy 1966; Catechism, Bible Stories, tracts.

(3) Abinsi Jukun

d) River Jukun

f) Gongola State, Wukari Division, Kato Bagha District at Sufa and Kwantan Sufa; Benue State, Makurdi Division, Iharev District at Abinsi

(4) Kona Jukun

f) Gongola State, Muri Division, Jalingo District; Wukari Division, Kinda Kinda Kuvyo District (area uncertain); Plateau State, Langtang Division, Wase District; Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Gwana District: Gombe Division Ako District

i) St. Mark 1927

(5) Wurkum Jukun

f) Gongola State, Muri Division, Wurkum District (area uncertain)

i) Gospel portions 1927

(6) Wase Jukun

f) Plateau State, Langtang Division, Districts of Plain Yergam, Gerkawa, and Resettlement

(7) Jibu

f) Gongola State, Mambilla Division, Gashaka District

h) Gayam, Garbabi

i) Pre-Primer 1973; 3 Primers 1975; Jibu-Hausa-English wrodlist 1974; folktale book 1974; literacy programme in progress; Scripture portions and Bible Stories from 1971; Bible translation in progress

164) 1. Kadara

2. Kajuru (North), Minna (South) and Kachia (Central) and Iri (part or North dialect)

171) 1. Kambari

4. Language Cluster:

(1) Kambari I

3. Dialect Cluster:

A) Kakichum

vi: Niger State, Kontagora Division

B) Ibeto

ii: Avadi, Abadi, Evadi

vi: Niger State, Kontagora Division

C) Salka
ii: (together with Auna and Agara'iwa) Cishingyini (Ashinginai)
vi: Niger State, Kontagora Division
ix: St. Mark, St. John, 1933; hymnbook 1960

(2) Kambari II

3. Dialect Cluster:

A) Auna
ii: (together with Salka and Agara'iwa) Cishingyini, (Ashinginai), Mawuchi, Ngwichi
vi: Kwara State, Borgu Division, Agwarra and Babana Districts

B) Agara'iwa
ii: (together with Salka and Auna) Cishingyini, (Ashinginai), Mawuchi, Ngwici
vi: Kwara State, Borgu Division, Agwarra and Babana Districts; Sokoto State, Yauri Division

174) 1. Kamuku
3. Dialect Cluster:

A) Achipa
ii: Tochipo
v: Achipawa, Atsipawa
vi: Sokoto State, Zuru Division; Niger State, Kontagora Division, Kumbashi District
vii: 2,500

B) Ucinda
i: Jinda, Majinda
vi: Kaduna State, Birnin Gwari Division; Sokoto State, Sokoto Division, Kuyambana District; Niger State, Minna Division, Districts of Kuta, Tegina, Kusherigi and Uragi; Kontagora Division, Kotonkoro District
vii: 14,000
viii: Tegina, Makangara

175) 1. Kamwe
2. Nkafa, Dakwa (Bazza), Sena, Ghye (Za), Wula Futu, Tili Pte, Kapsiki (Ptseke) in Cameroun, possibly Fali of Kiria

176) 1. Kana
2. Tai, North Khana, South Khana

177) 1. Kanufi-Kaningkon-Nindem
3. Dialect Cluster:

A) Kanufi
ii: Karshi

B) Kaningkon
i: Kaningkwon, Kaninkon

C) Nindem
i: Inidem, Nidem

178) 1. Kanuri
2. Borno, Beriberi, Manga, Koyam (Kwayam), Lere

179) 1. Karakare
2. Jalalum in west, Pakaro in north, Ngwajum in east

182) 1. Katab
3. Dialect Cluster:

A) Katab
ii: Atyap, Tyap
vi: Kaduna State, Kachia Division, Katab District, and Jema'a Division, Kagoro and Moroa Districts
vii: 10,700 (1931 HDG)

B) Kagoro
ii: Agwolok, Agolok, Agwot, Aguro
vi: Kaduna State, Jema'a Division, Kagoro and Jema'a Districts
vii: 9,300 (NAT 1949)

C) Atakat
i: Atakar, Attaka, Attakar, Takat
vi: Kaduna State, Jema'a Division, Moroa District
vii: 5,000 (1950 HDG)

D) Sholio
ii: Marwa, Morwa, Moroa, Maruwa, Maroa
iii: Asholio, Asolio, Osholio, Aholio
vi: Kaduna State, Jema'a Division, Moroa District
vii: 5,700 (NAT 1949)

E) Kachichere
i: Aticherak
ii: Daroro
vi: Kaduna State, Kachia Division, Zangon Katab District, Jema'a Division, Jema'a District
vii: 700 (NAT 1949)

F) Kafanchan
i: Fantuan, Kpashan
vi: Kaduna State, Jema'a Division, Kagoro District
vii: 970 (1934 HDG)

185) 1. Kilba
2. Luwa, etc.

192) 1. Kofiar
3. Dialect Cluster:

A) Kofyar
iv: Kwong
vi: Plateau State, Shendam Division, Kofyar District

B) Mernyang
i: Mirriam
vi: Plateau State, Shendam Division, near Kofyar

C) Doemak
i: Dimmuk
vi: Plateau State, Shendam Division, Dimmuk District

D) Kwagallak
i: Kwa'alang
ii: Kwalla
vi: Plateau State, Shendam Division, Shendam District

E) Bwol
i: Bwal, Mbol
vi: Plateau State, Shendam Division, Districts of Dimmuk, Namu, and Shendam

F) Gworam
i: Giveron, Goram
vi: Plateau State, Shendam Division, near Kofiar

G) Jipal
i: Jepel, Jepal, Jibyal
vi: Plateau State, Pankshin Division, South Sura District

196) 1. Koro
2. Ala, Ashe, Mia Mia

199) 1. Kpan
2. Western: Bissaula (Kentu, Kyentu, Etkye) extinct, Kumbo (Kpanzon), Gayam Gindin Dutse District, Tissa, Cayam Gindin Dutse District, Takum, Likam District, Donga, (Akpanzhi) Suntai District, Gayi, near Donga;
Eastern: Kente, Kato Bagha District, Apa Eregba (of Koelle)

201) 1. Kuda-Chamo
3. Dialect Cluster:

A) Kuda

B) Chamo
vi: Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Ningi District
viii: Basa said to be a sub-group

204) 1. Kukele
2. 4 dialects in north, 3 in south, Ugbala and Mtezi-Iteeji in Anambra State, Ishielu Division

211) 1. Kuteb
2. Lissam, Fikyu, Jenuwa, Kunabe, Kentin Fikyu has sub-dialects

217) 1. Kwanka
3. Dialect Cluster:

A) Kwamka
iv: Kadun
vi: Plateau State, Pankshin Division, Kadun District;
Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Lere District

B) Boi
iii: Tiya
vi: Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Lere District

C) Bijim
vi: Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Lere District

D) Legeri
vi: Plateau State, Pankshin Division, Pankshin District

219) 1. Laamang
3. Dialect Cluster:

A) Laamang North
ii: Gbuwhe, Kuvoko
vi: Borno State, West Gwoza District
vii: 15,000 (TR 1970); 40,000 (1963) including Laamang south
viii: Zaladeva (Alataghwa), Dzuuba, Lughva, Gwozo

B) Laamang south
vi: Borno State, West Gwoza District; Gongola State, Mubi Division, Madagali District; and in Cameroun
viii: Kedkala (Hidkala, Hitkala), Dlige, Tur (Turu), Ghudeven, Waga (Wagga, Woga, Waha), Visik (Tur and Vemgo also found in Cameroun)

221: 1. Lame
3. Dialect Cluster:

A) Bambaro
i: Bamburo, Bambara, Bombaro
vi: Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Lame District

B) Gura
ii: Agari, Agbiri
vi: Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Lame District

225) 1. Lela
2. Lila, etc.

233) 1. Longuda
2. Guyak (plains), Gerembe (hill), Taraba, Delebe, Gwandaba

244) 1. Mambila
2. Tep, etc.

246) 1. Margi
4. Language Cluster:

(1) Margi Central
f) Borno State, Uba District; Gongola State, Mubi Division, Madagali and Michika Districts
h) Lassa ('Plain' or 'Babul'), Gulak ('Hill' or 'Dzer')
i) Pre-Primer; Primer in 3 parts 1941; Scripture portions from 1940

(2) Margi South
f) Borno State, Uba District; Gongola State, Mubi Division, Districts of Madagali, Mubi and Mbani
h) Wamdiu, Hildi

(3) Putai (Margi West)
f) Borno State, Borno Division, Margi District
g) Language dying out, but ethnic population large and included under Margi Language Cluster

247) 1. Matakam
2. Mofa in Nigeria, others in Cameroun

249) 1. Mbembe
2. Adun, Okom (Eghom) (sub-dialects: Apiapum, Ohana, Onyen), Osopong, Ofombonga (Ewumbonga), Ofonokpan, Ekama in Ikom Division, Oferikpe in Izi Division

250) 1. Mbembe (Tigong)
3. Dialect Cluster:

A) Ashuku
ii: Kitsipki
vi: Gongola State, Mambilla Division, Tigon District

B) Nama
i: Dama, Namu
ii: Nzare, Kporo, Eneeme
vi: Gongola State, Mambilla Division, Tigon and Mambilla Districts

251) 1. Mboi
3. Dialect Cluster:

A) Mboi
i: Mboire, Mboyi
vi: Gongola State, Adamawa Division, Song District
vii: 1,800 (LA 1971)

B) Banga
vi: Gongola State, Adamawa Division, Song District

C) Handa
vi: Gongola State, Adamawa Division, Song District
vii: 1,370 (LA 1971)

252) 1. Mbula-Bwazza
3. Dialect Cluster:

A) Mbulu

B) Bwazza
iv: (for Bwazza) Bare, Bere, Tambo
vi: Gongola State, Numan Division, Mbula, Shellem and Bachama Districts; Adamawa Division, Girei District
vii: 7,100 (1952)

260) 1. Mumuye
2. Western: Lankoviri, Kassa, Saawa, Pangseng, Jalingo, Nyaaja and Yoro;
Eastern: Jeng, Gnoore, Zing (Zinna), Yaa, Rang, Sagbee, Shaari, Kugong, Mang, Kwaji, Meeka also Yakoko (according to Meek)

265) 1. Nde-Nsele-Nta
3. Dialect Cluster

A) Nde
ii: Ekamtulufu, Mbenkpe, Udom, Mbofon, Befon
vi: Cross River State, Ikom and Obubra Divisions
vii: 4,000 (1953)

B) Nsele
vi: Cross River State, Ikom Division
vii: 1,000 (1953)

C) Nta
iii: Atam, Afunata
vi: Cross River State, Ikom Division

266) 1. Ndoe
3. Dialect Cluster:

A) Ekparabong
i: Akparabong
vi: Cross River State, Ikom Division

B) Balep
vi: Cross River State, Ikom Division

273) 1. Nkem-Nkum
3. Dialect Cluster:

A) Nkem
i: Nkim
ii: Ishibori
iv: Ogoja
vii: 11,000 (1953)

B) Nkum
vii: 5,700 (1953)

276: 1. Numana-Nunku-Gwantu
3. Dialect Cluster:

A) Numana
i: Nimana

B) Nunku

C) Gwantu
i: Gwanto
vi: Kaduna State, Jema'a Division, Jema'a District
viii: Numbu

278) 1. Nupe
2. Dialects: There are several dialects. Nupe Central has become the accepted literary form:

- Nupe Central:
i: Nife, Anupe
ii: Ampeyi, Anupecwayi, Tapa, Anuperi, Tappah, Takpa
iii: Nupecizi, Nupencizi
vi: Niger State, Kontagora, Minna and Bidda Divisions
vii: 283,000 (1931 DF)
viii: Ebe (Abewa, Asu), Kupa, Kede (Kyedye) etc.
ix: Primer 1905; Dictionary and Grammar 1914; Work in progress on primers; Bible 1953 and 1965; New Testament 1930; Scripture portions from 1860; revision of Bible in progress

- Ganagana
i: Ganagawa
ii: Dibo, Shitako, Zitako
vi: Niger State, Agaie-Lapai and Bida Divisions
vii: 18,200 (1931 DF)

- Kakanda
  i: Akanda
  ii: Hyabe, Adyaktye
  vi: Kwara State, Kogi Division, Kakanda District; Niger State, Agaie-Lapai District
  vii: 4,500 (1931 DF)

- Bassa-Nge
  ii: Ibara
  vi: Kwara State, Dekina Division, Bassange and Mozom Districts
  vii: 19,100 (1931 DF)

- Eggan
  vi: Kwara State, Lafia Pategi Division, Kupa District; Niger State, Agaie-Lapai District
  vii: 1,560 (1963)

280) 1. Nzangi
2. Holma

281) 1. Obanliku
3. Dialect Cluster:

A) Basang
vi: Cross River State, Obudu Division

B) Bebi
vi: Cross River State, Obudu Division

C) Bishiri
vi: Cross River State, Obudu Division

D) Bisu
vi: Cross River State, Obudu Division; and in Cameroun

E) Busi
vi: Cross River State, Obudu Division

282) 1. Obolo
2. Ngo, Unyeada, Okoroete

286) 1. Ogbia
3. Dialect Cluster:

A) Kolo
vi: Rivers State, Ogbia Division
ix: Primer 1970

B) Oloibiri
vi: Rivers State, Ogbia and Brass Divisions
ix: Rivers Readers Project

C) Anyama
vi: Rivers State, Ogbia Division

289) 1. Ogori-Magongo
3. Dialect Cluster:

A) Ogori

B) Magongo
iv: Osanyin

291) 1. Okpamheri
2. Okulosho (Okurosho) with several sub-dialects; Western Okpamheri with several sub-dialects, Emarle (Somorika, Semolika)

293) 1. Olulumo-Ikom
3. Dialect Cluster:

A) Olulumo
vii: 1,330 (1953)

B) Ikom
vii: 7,520 (1953)

294) 1. Oring
3. Dialect Cluster:

A) Ufia
iv: Utonkon
vi: Benue State, Oturkpo Division, Utonkon District
vii: 12,300 (1952 RGA)

B) Effium
i: Ufiom
vi: Anambra, Ishielu Division
vii: 3,000 (1926 RGA)

C) Okpoto
vi: Anambra State, Ishielu Division
vii: 6,350 (1926 RGA)

304) 1. Piti
2. Riban (Ribam)

307) 1. Puku-Geeri-Keri-Wipsi
3. Dialect Cluster:

A) Puku-Nu
ii: Faka, Fakai
vi: Sokoto State, Zuru District, Dabai and Fakai areas
vii: 12,300 (1949 G & C)

B) Geeri-Ni
ii: Gela, Serim
vi: Sokoto State, Zuru Division, around Geeri

C) Keri-Ni
ii: Kela, Adoma
vi: Sokoto State, Zuru Division, Dabai and Fakai areas

D) Wipsi-Ni
ii: Zusu
vi: Sokoto State, Zuru Division, around Kukum

309) 1. Reshe
2. Yauri, etc.

314) 1. Sanga
2. Bujiyel

318) 1. Shall-Zwall
3. Dialect Cluster:

A) Shall

B) Zwall
vi: Bauchi State, Bauchi Division, Lere District

331) 1. Tarok
2. Hill and Plain

333) 1. Tera
3. Dialect Cluster:

A) Nyimatli
i: Yamaltu, Nimalto
vi: Bauchi State, Gombe Division, Yamaltu District

B) Bidlindi
ii: Hinna, Hina, Ghena
vi: Borno State, Biu Division, Districts of Tera, Bubur and West Bura

338) 1. Ubaghara
3. Dialect Cluster:

A) Biakpum
vi: Ubaghara Development Area

B) Ikun
vi: Ubaghara Development Area

C) Etono
vi: Ubaghara Development Area

D) Ugben
vi: Egup-Ita Development Area

E) Utuma
vi: Umon Development Area

341) 1. Ukaan
2. Ishe, Kakumo

342) 1. Ukpe-Bayobiri
3. Dialect Cluster:

A) Ukpe

B) Bayobiri
vi: Cross River State, Obudu and Ikom Divisions

348) 1. Urhobo
2. Several dialects, but Agbarho is accepted as standard. Okpe and Uvbie are regarded here as dialects of Urhobo, although some writers treat as distinct languages on purely linguistic grounds

- Okpe
vi: Bendel,State, Western Urhobo Division
ix: Reader 1967

- Uvbie
i: Uvwie, Evrie, Uvhria, Effurun, Evhro (not recommended)
vi: Bendel State, Western Urhobo Division
vii: 6,000 (1952)

349) 1. Utugwang
3. Dialect Cluster:

A) Utugwang
i: Otugwang
vi: Cross River State, Obudu Division

B) Okorogung
vi: Cross River State, Obudu Division

C) Okorotung
vi: Cross River State, Obudu Division

D) Afrike
i: Aferikpe
vi: Cross River State, Ogoja Division
vii: 3,500 (1953)

E) Oboso
vi: Cross River State, Obudu Division

355) 1. Wandala
3. Dialect Cluster:

A) Gamargu
i: Gamergu
iii: Malgo
vi: Borno State, Dikwa Division, Bama District; Borno Division, Districts of Anno, Konduga and Margi
vii: 10,000 (TR 1970)

B) Kirawa
vi: Borno State, East Gwoza District; and in Cameroun
vii: 9,300 (TR 1970)

356) 1. Warji
2. Gala ?

358) 1. Yala
2. Yala Ogoja, Yala Ikom (Nkum), Yala Obubra (Nkum Akpambe)

359) 1. Yandang
2. Kuseki, Yoti

361) 1. Yekhee
2. Auchi, Uzairue, South Ibie, Uwepa-Uwano (Seppa-Wano), Avianwu (Fugar, Aviele, Ivhiadaobi

364) 1. Yoruba
2. Many dialects including Bunu, Oyo, Ife, Ila, Ijesha, Ijebu, Ondo, Owo, Owe, Jumu, Igbena, Yagba, Gbedde, Egba, Akono, Ekiti, Ilaje, Ikale, Awori and Aworo

CHAPTER 6

FRONTIER LANGUAGES OF NIGERIA

As we have seen, there are many languages spoken in Nigeria. It is said that probably a quarter of all the languages spoken in sub-Saharan Africa are spoken in the country. This figure is not surprising when we take into account the comparative position of Nigeria in the population distribution in Black Africa. The proportion of people living in the country vis-à-vis the rest of Black Africa is similar to the proportion of languages spoken there. In other words, the language density in Nigeria parallels the population density when both of these are viewed for the continent as a whole. The complexity of the language situation in the country mirrors therefore the general complexity found throughout the continent.

The Nigerian field offers several examples of frontier languages, that is, languages spoken both within and beyond her borders. The period of occupation between different groups may be so long as to result in the mingling and fusion of peoples at the frontier zones. In such cases, it will be difficult to distinguish between ethnic and linguistic memberships of people. As language is a crucial factor in ethnicity, it is naturally thought to disintegrate; it resists attempts at creating artificial barriers to partition it; it abhors rigid boundaries.

The wide spread of Hausa and Fulfulde in West Africa is a historical phenomenon. They spread, or were imposed on others, either through empire building or jihad or commercial expansion or as a result of mass migrations over time. This led to some ethnic groups adopting these languages to the extent of abandoning their own.

Sometimes a homogeneous ethnic or linguistic group originally occupying a common territory and speaking the same language was arbitrarily split into two or more political entities by colonizing powers during the scramble for Africa. But often a language defies attempts at physical separation and separates, though with dialect variations, on both sides of the border. For example, Yoruba is also found as a mother tongue in Benin Republic among the Nago in the Porto-Novo region (as far as Kuti, Sakete, Pobe, Sabe, etc,) and in Zou area like Dassa-Zoumé. In Togo, the people of Atakpamé and the surrounding region speak a dialect of Yoruba called Ife (or Fé).

A very important regional language can drastically assimilate or influence other languages across the border. This is the case of Efik which is said to have "remarkable assimilative power". It has spread extensively in the Cross River area and even into Cameroun.

In the following Table 5, we have tried to sort out those languages that are spoken both in Nigeria and in other territories of West Africa. As they are extracted from the comprehensive language data, the reference names and numbers correspond to those used in the list of language names. The following is the key to the entries:

1. Reference name of language
2. Location both in and outside Nigeria
3. Literature (if any) outside Nigeria

TABLE 5: FRONTIER LANGUAGES OF NIGERIA

21) 1. Baatonun
2. Mainly in Benin Republic: also in Kwara State, Borgu Division, Yashikira, Okuta, Ilesha and Gwanara Districts
3. Monthly newspaper published in Benin Republic; In Benin Republic: St. Mark 1957, St. John 1953; Bible translation in progress

34) 1. Bata
2. Gongola State, Divisions of Numan, Adamawa, Mubi and in Cameroun

37) 1. Baya
2. Gongola State, Mambilla Division, Gashaka District, but mainly in Cameroun

44) 1. Bitare
2. Gongola State, Mambilla Division, Tigon District; and in Cameroun

47) 1. Bokyi
2. Cross River State, Ikom, Obudu and Ogoja Divisions; and in Cameroun

49) 1. Buduma
2. Borno State, Borno Division; Islands of Lake Chad and mostly in the Republic of Chad

53) 1. Busa
2. Kwara State, Borgu Division, Districts of Wawa, Busa, Babana, Yashikira;
Sokoto State, Gwandu Division; and in Benin Republic

56) 1. Chamba Daka
2. Gongola State, Muri Division, Districts of Dakka, Jalingo, Mutum Biu, Bakundi and Gassol; Ganye (Southern) Division, Districts of Toungo, Yelwa, Sugu, Mbulo, Jada and Leko;
Adamawa Division, Districts of Binoyeri, Wafanga and Verre; and in Cameroun, where it is estimated at 20,000 in 1952

68) 1. Dendi
2. Some in Sokoto State, Argungu Division, Dendi District, and Gwandu Division, Illo District; Mostly in Benin Republic; and Niger Republic

83) 1. Efik
2. Cross River State, Calabar and Akampka Divisions; and in Cameroun

86) 1. Egun
2. Lagos State, Badagry Division; also in Benin Republic

87) 1. Ejagham
2. Cross River State, Akamkpa, Ikom and Calabar Divisions; and in and in Cameroun

101) 1. Fali
2. Gongola State, Mubi Division, Mubi District; mainly in Cameroun

102) 1. Fulfulde
2. Scattered throughout the Northern States; also in other countries of West Africa from Senegal, Gambia, and Guinea on the Atlantic, through Mali, Upper Volta, Niger and Northern Nigeria (particularly in Gongola State, Adamawa Division) to Chad and Cameroun, with considerable numbers also in Southern Mauritania, and the Northern parts of Sierra Leone, Ghana and Benin.
3. New Testament 1964 in Benin Republic; Old Testament translation in progress; New Testament 1968 in Cameroun

117) 1. Gude
2. Gongola State, Mubi Division, Mubi District;
Borno State, Uba District;
and in Cameroun

128) 1. Hausa
2. Spoken as a first language in large areas of Sokoto, Kaduna, Kano and Bauchi States; also as a regional language (Lingua Franca) in much of those areas where it is not spoken as a first language, eg. in the Middle Belt of Nigeria; and in Niger Republic, Northern Benin, Northern Togo, Northern Ghana and in some parts of the Federal Republic of Cameroun

172) 1. Kamkam
2. Gongola State, Mambilla Division, Mambilla District, Kamkam town;
and in Cameroun

175) 1. Kamwe
2. Gongola State, Mubi Division, Michika and Madagali Districts;
and into Cameroun, where it is estimated at 23,000 (1952)

178) 1. Kanuri
2. Borno State, Divisions of Borno and Dikwa;
Kano State, Hadeja Division, Birriwa District;
and in Niger and Chad Republics

194) 1. Koma
2. Gongola State, Ganye (southern) Division, Koma Vomni District, Atlantika Mountains, and into Cameroun where the majority of speakers are found

197) 1. Korop
2. Cross River State, Calabar and Akamkpa Divisions;
and into Cameroun

198) 1. Kotopo
2. Gongola State, Ganye (Southern) Division, Toungo District;
and in Cameroun

204) 1. Kukele
2. Cross River State, Ogaja Division; Anambra State, Ishielu Divisions;
and in Cameroun

219) 1. Laamang
2. Borno State, West Gwoza District; Gongola State, Mubi Division, Madagali District;
and in Cameroun

220) 1. Laka
2. Gongola State, Muri Division, Lau District; Adamawa Division, Yola District;
also in Cameroun

244) 1. Mambila
2. Gongola State, Mambilla Division, Mambilla, Tigon and Gashaka Districts; and in Cameroun, where it is estimated at 20,000 (1952)
3. 2 Post-Primer Books in Cameroun dialect 1969-70; Scripture portions from 1970 in Cameroun dialect

247) 1. Matakam
2. Borno State, Central Gwoza District;
but primarily in Cameroun
3. New Testament 1965 in Cameroun dialect

250) 1. Mbembe (Tigong)
2. Gongola State, Mambilla Division, Mambilla and Tigon Districts;
mainly in Cameroun

253) 1. Mbute
2. Gongola State, Mambilla Division, Gashaka District;
but mainly in Cameroun

257) 1. Mober
2. Borno State, Borno Division, Mobber District;
and in Niger Republic

259) 1. Mumbake
2. Gongola State, Zing Division;
and in Cameroun

267) 1. Ndoro
2. Gongola State, Mambilla Division, Ndoro and Gashaka Districts;
and in Cameroun

279) 1. Nyamnyam
2. Gongola State, Mambilla Division, Gashaka District;
and into Cameroun

280) 1. Nzangi
2. Gongola State, Mubi Division, Maiha and Belel Districts;
Adamawa Division, Zummo District;
and in Cameroun

281) 1. Okanliku
2. Cross River State, Obudu Division; and
and in Cameroun

351) 1. Verre
2. Gongola State, Adamawa Division, Verre District;
and in Cameroun

355) 1. Wandala
2. Borno State, Divisions of Borno, Dikwa and East Gwoza District;
but mainly in Cameroun where the majority of speakers are found
3. St. Mark in Cameroun dialect 1967

357) 1. Wom
2. Gongola State, Adamawa Division, Verre District;
and in Cameroun

364) 1. Yoruba
2. Most of Oyo, Ogun, Ondo and Lagos States;
parts of Kwara State, Divisions of Borgu, Ilorin, Igbomena-Ekiti, Kabba and Koji;
and into Benin and Togo Republics

368) 1. Zarma
2. Sokoto State, Argungu Division, Arewa Yamma and Arewa Gabas Districts;
Gwandu Division, Kalgo and Birnin Kebbi Districts;
and in Benin Republic
3. In Djerma of Benin Republic: New Testament 1936, 1954;
St. John 1934

CHAPTER 7

UNIDENTIFIABLE NIGERIAN LANGUAGE NAMES

The unidentifiable language names of Nigeria are collected from the works of various writers. In the following Table 6, we have presented a list of unresolved queries about languages that cannot be identified in the field. As far as we can judge and ascertain, most of the entries in the list are names of ethnic groups or places rather than languages, but we have no adequate information to decide categorically their status. With each name, we have given the source of our information and also any details we have with regard to the supposed location of the group or language. In the case of some writers, for example C.L. and O. Temple, we are certain that they have tended to give as names of peoples the name of the town or village where the people lived. We have not always been able to identify such names with specific languages.

Some of the queries come from the work of André Nitecki, who compiled a basic list of names for the use of librarians in cataloguing books. He collected these names from many different sources and again, in some instances, we have not been able to identify the names with specific languages, though we are reasonably sure that most of the unidentified names in his list are names of peoples, rather than languages as such.

Any information that can be given on any of the entries listed in this Table would be most gratefully received. It would however be wrong to still consider the names as languages without proper verification or identification in the field as this will be merely perpetuating errors inadvertently accumulated from the past. Let us make sure of our facts and figures now.

The following is the key to the entries:

1. Name of the supposed language
2. Source
3. Location
4. Comment (if any)

TABLE 6: UNIDENTIFIABLE NIGERIAN LANGUAGE NAMES

1) 1. Agalawa
   2. Temple 1919
   3. Katsina Emirate

2) 1. Ahong
   2. Winston 1964-65
   3. Old Eastern Nigeria
   4. ? Kohumono

3) 1. Ajawa
   2. Gunn 1953; Temple 1919; Nitecki 1972; Meek (Thomas) 1925); Greenberg 1963.
   3. 545 in Bauchi Emirate; Darazo and Ganjuwa Districts, mainly in village of Kworko
   4. ? dialect of Warji

4) 1. Ambo
2. Hoffmann 1975
3. ?
4. Unclassified Niger-Congo language

5) 1. Angbe
2. Maaki Adam
3. Wukari Division in the south

6) 1. Aniakawa
2. Temple 1919
3. 220 in Bauchi Division

7) 1. Anong
2. Winston 1964-65
3. Old Eastern Nigeria; population of 935
4. ? Kohumono

8) 1. Arek
2. Nitecki 1972; Gunn 1953
3. Jema'a District, Plateau Province, south of the Rumada, east of Gwand Gwandara, north of Mada and east of Numana
4. Shown on map of Gunn

9) 1. Aruo
2. Ballard 1971
3. Map H14 Jos Division area

10) 1. Badni
2. Nitecki 1972
3. ?
4. Vodni, part of Sura?

11) 1. Bajingala
2. ?
3. North of Dangara, Koton Karifi District
4. Dialect of Bassa-Kwomu? or, people of Dangara and Ganagana

12) 1. Bakarawa
2. Nitecki 1972
3. N'guski District, Kontagora Division

13) 1. Baredawa
2. Temple 1919
3. Small community in Bauchi Emirate

14) 1. Bayak
2. Temple 1919
3. 4,025 in Bauchi Emirate

15) 1. Bellawa
2. Temple 1919
3. Bauchi Emirate and Kanam

16) 1. Bomawa
2. Temple 1919
3. Small clan in Bauchi Emirate

17) 1. Buru
2. Hoffmann
3. ?
4. Unclassified Niger-Congo language

18) 1. Chanchara (Kenkera)
2. Gospel Recordings 1971
3. Ara - population 10,000
4. ? Gwandara or Gade

19) 1. Cineni
2. Kraft
3. A Gwoza language

20) 1. Dazawa
2. Temple 1919
3. 220 in Bauchi Emirate
4. ? Dass town

21) 1. Dingai
2. Temple 1919
3. Part of a group niknamed Lala in Pagan Emirate Division, Yola Province

22) 1. Dulumi
2. Gospel Recordings 1971
3. 1000
4. Similar to Mundu and Dala

23) 1. Dumawa
2. Temple 1919; Campbell and Hoskison 1969
3. Small Community in Bauchi Emirate
4. Dumi village, Zungur District

24) 1. Dumbulawa
2. Gospel Recordings
3. ? Jema'a District
4. Sutumi, offshoot of Jarawa?

25) 1. Durlong
2. Bergman and Dancy 1966
3. Jungwa, Namu and Njok, Namu District, Old Benue-Plateau State
4. ? Dialect of Goe, Goemai (CH)

26) 1. Dziromo
2. ?
3. Related to Margi, near Mulgwe, Margi District, Old North Eastern state

27) 1. Fanti
2. Nitecki 1972
3. Not same as in Ghana
4. A Mumuye town ?

28) 1. Gambiwa
2. Temple 1919
3. 285 in Bauchi Emirate

29) 1. Gamshi Gamishawa
2. Temple 1919
3. Samll community in Bauchi Emirate

30) 1. Gamsawa
2. Temple 1919
3. Offset of Germawa

31) 1. Ganawa
2. Temple 1919
3. Samll community in Bauchi Emirate

32) 1. Gauawa
2. Temple 1919
3. Small community in Bauchi Emirate

33) 1. Golowa
2. Temple 1919
3. 230 in Bauchi Emirate

34) 1. Goram
2. Greenberg 1963
3. Near Amper, Pankshin Division; a West Chadic language
4. Garam town, a dialect of Angas?

35) 1. Gumar
2. Kraft
3. A language in Greenberg's 1 (d) (ii) Chadic Group

36) 1. Gwanda
2. Temple 1919
3. Cameroun border; offset of Chamba
4. Offset

37) 1. Gwanje
2. Westermann and Bryan 1952
3. Dialect of Mandara, similar to Gamergu

38) 1. Gwozum
2. Temple 1919
3. Gombe Emirate
4. The peoples of the Gwoza hills

39) 1. Jilbu
2. Hoffmann 1976
3. Perhaps Bata-Gude group

40) 1. Jiriya
2. Campbell and Hoskison 1969
3. Lame District 8 m. S.E. of Kerei, Bauchi Division

41) 1. Jiwapa
2. Temple 1919
3. S. Division, Zaria Province

42) 1. Jubawa
2. Temple 1919
3. Ibi Division, Muri Province

44) 1. Kamburwama
2. Westermann and Bryan 1952
3. Dialect of Mandara
4. Formerly living in Lakwa District South-West of Gwoza (Wolff 1971)

45) 1. Kamino
2. Grimley and Robinson 1966
3. Ichen District, old N.E. State

46) 1. Kaunari
2. ?
3. Less than 10,000, Lafia Division, old B-P. State

47) 1. Kaura
2. Temple 1919
3. Jema'a Division

48) 1. Katanga
2. Nitecki 1972
3. ?

49) 1. Kayauri Kaiyorawa
2. Nitecki 1972; Gunn 1953; Campbell and Hoskison 1969
3. Sub-tribe of Gezawa (Nitecki), related to Gezawa (Gunn), two villages in Toro District, old N.E. State

50) 1. Kediya
2. Nitecki 1972; Gunn 1953
3. Mistake for Kiriya (HDG)

51) 1. Kere
2. Campbell and Hoskison 1969
3. Kerei village, Lame District, old N.E. State, and Lere District, old N.C. State

51) 1. Kofa/Kota
2. Hoffmann
3. A Bura-Margi language

52) 1. Kolbila
2. Hoffmann 1976
3. Perhaps a member of Vere-Duru group of Adamawa

53) 1. Komawa
2. Temple 1919
3. 850 in Gombe Emirate, 420 in Bauchi Emirate

54) 1. Kwaya Maya
2. Abraham 1962
3. Member of Katagum Barebari clan

55) 1. Kworko
2. Gunn 1953
3. See Ajawa

56) 1. Laka
2. Grimley and Robinson 1966; Nitecki 1972
3. Kwiello area west of Zaria, old N.C. state, S.E. of Sokoto Province

56) 1. Lardang
2. Temple 1919
3. Offset of Mernyang

57) 1. Larr
2. Temple 1919
3. Offset of Mernyang

58) 1. Longo
2. Winston 1964-5
3. Old Eastern Nigeria

59) 1. Mawa
2. Temple 1919; Nitecki 1972
3. Samll in Bauchi Emirate, Lame District
4. Mara village in Jema'a District, Toro Division?

60) 1. Mendong-Mufons
2. Temple 1919
3. Bauchi Province

61) 1. Mikiet
2. Temple 1919
3. Offset of Mernyang

62) 1. Ndir
2. Nitecki 1972; Gray; Gospel Recordings 1971
3. A tribe living among the Tiv near Turan; population 2,000
4. A Cameroun language related to Uive and Tiv

63) 1. Ngaslawe
2. Westermann and Bryan 1952
3. West of Mandara but not a Mandara dialect
4. Gatlaghwe, a Dghwede village?

64) 1. Ngoug
2. Welmers 1971
3. Adamawa-Eastern

65) 1. Ntrigom
2. Old South Eastern State 1971: Introduction
3. Ogoja Division, old S.E. State

66) 1. Nteng (Jasikit)
2. Gospel Recordings 1971
3. 600, related to Kwalla

67) 1. Oruma
2. Williamson 1968
3. Rivers State
4. An Ijo dialect yet unclassified (KW)

68) 1. Pwoi
2. ?
3. Kwali District, Abuja Division

69) 1. Purra
2. Westermann and Bryan
3. Related to Yungur

70) 1. Rianga
2. Temple 1919
3. 95 in Bauchi Emirate

71) 1. Rubu
2. Nitecki 1972; Temple 1919; Gunn and Conant 1960
3. Borderline of Kontagora and Minna Divisions
4. Kamuku?

72) 1. Rumada
2. Temple 1919; Nitecki 1972
3. 4,000 in Bauchi Emirate, scattered in Zaria Province
4. Said to speak Fulfulde (CH survey)

73) 1. Sade
2. Ballard 1971
3. Sade, Darazo District, Darazo Division, old N.E. State

74) 1. Sarawa
2. Temple 1919
3. Bauchi Emirate
4. Warji?

75) 1. Sayirr
2. Temple 1919
3. Offset of Yergam
4. Zar (Saya)?

76) 1. Sho/Shau
2. Temple 1919
3. Small in Bauchi Emirate

77) 1. Shau
2. Campbell and Hoskison 1969
3. Lame District, Bauchi Division, villages of Shau and Mana

78) 1. Shere
2. Temple 1919
3. Pagan Emirate Division, Yola Province, part of group nicknamed Lala

79) 1. Subku Tambu
2. Westermann and Bryan 1952
3. Related to Yungur

80) 1. Tenna
2. Temple 1919
3. Pagan Emirate Division, Yola Province, part of group nicknamed Lala

81) 1. Teshenawa
2. Temple 1919
3. Katagum Emirate

82) 1. Tikr
2. Temple 1919
3. 3243 Zupein District, Muri Province; offset of Chamba
4. Grasslands Bantu in Cameroun (Benue-Congo wordlist)

83) 1. Tim
2. Ballard 1971
3. Ron District, old B-P. State
4. Chakfem-Mushere?

84) 1. Toni
2. Hoffmann 1976
3. Unclassified Niger-Congo language

85) 1. Tugumawa
2. Temple 1919
3. 151 in Donga District, Muri Province; offset of Chamba Daka

86) 1. Udam
2. Nitecki 1972
3. Live among the Tiv
4. Tiv name for Bette and Bekwarra (Stanford of Institute of Linguistics Jos)

87) 1. Ugbe (Ugee)
2. Nitecki 1972; Gospel Recordings 1971
3. Sub-tribe of Tiv in Cameroun near Turan; population 800
4. Not Tiv (Maaki Adam)

88) 1. Ujagbo
2. Nitecki 1972; Bradbury 1957
3. Kukuruku Division, Benin Province
4. Esan?

89) 1. Ukwese
2. Nitecki 1972
3. Live among the Tiv

90) 1. Wedu
2. Gospel Recordings 1971
3. Less than 1000, scattered among the Angas
4. Related to Tal?

91) 1. Wushishi
2. Nitecki 1972
3 ?

92) 1. Wudufu
2. Nitecki 1972; Gunn 1953
3. Ganjuwa District, old N.E. State
4. Related to Jimbim, etc.?

93) 1. Wutana
2. Temple 1919
3. 1075 in Bauchi Emirate

94) 1. Yan
2. Temple 1919
3. Pagan Emirate Division, Yola Province, part of group nicknamed Lala

95) 1. Yingilim (Yingulum)
2. Welmers 1971
3. ?
4. A Cameroun language; Adamawa-Ubangian

96) 1. Yumu
2. Gospel Recordings 1971
3. West of Mainji Lake, Borgu Division, Kwara State at Yumu and Osisi
4. Either a dialect of Lopa or of Kambari (Rev. A. Washbrook)

97) 1. Zlogba
2. Westermann and Bryan 1952
3. Dialect of west side of Mandara

98) 1. Zomo
2. Gospel Recordings 1971
3. Less than 1000 south of Chip language area
4. Related to Chip and Sura?

99) 1. Zyemawa
2. Temple 1919
3. 240 in Bauchi Emirate

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PART "B"
CHAPTERS 8 - 12

CHAPTER 8

THE PLACE OF MOTHER TONGUE IN EDUCATION IN NIGERIA

Introduction

Linguistic problems are world-wide. We must examine first the nature of language itself before considering its relation with human society. If we describe language as a system of symbols used for communication among the members of a community, we can attribute to it the following fundamental characteristics (Brosnahan 1962: 1-4): "it is human, non-instinctive, symbolic, conventional, vocal and systematic".

Language is a purely human phenomenon: only an intelligent being, like man, can have it; animals, like a parrot, cannot.

Because it can neither be acquired by instinct nor be inherited, we say that it is non-instinctive. As it is not inborn, it must be learnt; hence, the mother tongue of a child depends on its environment and not on the race or colour.

Language is symbolic because it is made up of symbols, that is something that has meaning or significance. For example, a word is a symbol: it consists of a sound with an associated meaning. Also, groups of words in a language, such as phrases, clauses and sentences, either as statement or as question, are symbols: each has a stretch of sounds with which a meaning is associated.

The symbols of a language are vocal symbols, that is, they are produced by the voice of man. A language is therefore primarily something that is spoken; writing and printing are secondary methods of communication because all depend essentially on the speech: for instance, just as children learn first their mother tongue before, if at all, they learn to write it, so also many communities in the world have language but no form of writing it.

The symbols in a language are also conventional. This means that there is a sort of natural agreement among a speech group as to the meaning the words represent. For example, all speakers of Igbo language agree that if they wish to refer to YAM, they will use the stretch of sound JI which at once is associated with the object they have in mind. In another language, different stretches of sound are associated with the meaning "Yam". This simply means that the speakers of that language have a different agreement from that of Igbo speakers.

Finally, all these units which make up a language are naturally organised into a system so that they are related to one another and are integrated into a whole as to convey a desired message. Thus there are phonemes, words or parts of speech, all arranged into patterns of word order or syntax, patterns of agreement, etc. This means that a language is not a mere list or collection of sounds and words, but a well organised system in which all the units have their respective places and specific functions in the whole.

This system of conventional vocal symbols is used for communication among the group or community of speakers of the same language. This means that a language plays a very important role in the society because it expresses a

community of interests, that is, a common stock of cultural responses. Thus, all people who belong to the same speech community, for example to Igbo or Hausa or Yoruba in Nigeria, feel themselves as an entity, as members of the family of speakers, or as custodians of a common medium of linguistic communication. Among family, friends, stangers and entire members of a human society, communication is therefore impossible without language.

Mother tongue and learning

We have tried to describe the nature of language. We have seen that man uses his language as a means of communication. But in addition to this function, language serves him as a socialising force and acts as a tool or instrument for his thinking and planning. It then goes without saying that if the way we form the whole set of concepts and ideas, the way we experience and interpret our environment, is due to a conventional language system, the intellectual development of an individual will, to a large extent, be identical with his linguistic development. This truism is aptly asserted on page 224 of *The Miracle of Languages*, by Charlton Laird (Taillon 1959:13):

> For practical purposes, most people think only about things for which they have words and can think only in the direction for which they have words. Good brains are in part good brains because they have large vocabularies to work with.

This brings us to the question of the choice and importance of language for the efficient education of a child. Till today, the world has not yet discovered a generally accepted international language as Europe had in the Middle Ages vis-à-vis Latin. Bilingualism or multilingualism appears to be the answer to the problems of linguistic communication on the international level. On the national level, linguists recognise the importance of the national lingua franca, and at the same time recommend the development and teaching of different local languages or mother tongues.

It is by learning the words of its mother tongue that the child gradually becomes acquainted with the things, the life, the environment, the concepts and the ideas of the community to which it belongs. The language a man learns in his childhood is therefore the most important key to the formative years of his development.

From this point of view, it is extremely important that the child should have its first introduction to the school — to the world of abstract ideas and concepts — through a medium of which it has already a certain grasp: and this medium is no other than its mother tongue. This attempt to associate a child's development with its environment is what prompts linguists and educationists today to argue that a child's very first years of education at least must be in its native language. A UNESCO report, *The Use of Vernacular Languages in Education*, published in 1953, states (page 11) that:

> It is axiomatic that the best medium for teaching a child is his mother tongue. Psychologically, it is the system of meaningful signs that in his mind work automatically for expression and understanding. Sociologically, it is a means of identification among the members of the community to which he belongs. Educationally, he learns more quickly through it than

through an unfamiliar linguistic medium.

The inference here is that, in the absence of a single mother tongue or of a national language or of a lingua franca for every primary schoolchild, we shall be obliged to introduce the use of many mother tongues into our primary school system. But the national lingua franca will still have to be seriously taught.

For the purposes of brief analysis of the UNESCO report, it is worthwhile to re-examine the merits and certain weaknesses of the axiom.

The report strongly emphasized and recommended the necessity of using and developing the mother tongue in all infant education. This, I can say, is true only of European countries or such states where there are indigenous national languages and very few linguistic minorities. Thus the dogma about teaching a child first in its mother tongue holds water if one is in a fairly simple bilingual situation such as exists in Alsace, Lorain, Wales, Scotland, etc. Here we have a case of an indigenous national language with one or two minority languages. It is argued that it is not advisable in such a case to start the child's education in a language other than its own mother tongue. Instruction given in a "foreign" language will result in more superficial knowledge than if the teaching is done through a medium which is intimately associated with the child's earlier experience and environment. In fact, a school education given almost exclusively in a language foreign to the child will have disastrous effects on him: it will not be of much relevance to him in his home-village where he will be neither proficient in the second language nor competent in his mother tongue which he cannot read or write. Though bilingualism is extremely useful in inter-linguistic communication for cultural, political or other important contacts between peoples of different civilisations, it is however not very essential in the isolated rural communities if it is done at the expense of the mother tongue. Education in the population's own language for at least the first few years of school is essential for the intellectual development of the individual and for the conservation of his contacts with the community to which he belongs by birth. In short "Le Page 1966: 24):

> There can be no doubt that to educate a child in a language which is not that of either of his parents tends to alienate him from his parents; to educate him in a language which is not one of the indigenous languages of the country tends to alienate him from the culture of his country.

Let us examine some weaknesses of the axiom. Nigeria, for example, is a highly multilingual state with about 368 languages, varying from about 78 in Gongola State to 56 in Plateau, 53 in Cross River, 49 in Bauchi, 34 in Kaduna, 21 in Borno, 19 in Bendel, 17 in Rivers, 10 in Niger, 9 in Sokoto, 8 in Benue, 6 in Kwara, 2 in Lagos, and, predominantly, a single language in each of the following states: Anambra, Imo, Kano, Ogun, Ondo, and Oyo. As the population of the country is linguistically diverse, it may not be possible for the Federal Government to provide education in the mother tongue to all the different linguistic groups. If this is true of the country as a whole, what will then be the position in states like Gongola, Bauchi, Cross River, etc. with 78, 49 and 53 languages respectively? It is true that no easy solution can be found to the problem of which language to choose for education in a multilingual

society. The difficulty arises between the needs of an individual for an initial instruction to be given in his mother tongue and the demands imposed by the social organisation.

In most countries of the third world, education has to fulfil the badly needed double tasks of cultural homogeneity, and a common sense of identity among the members of diverse races and cultures who find themselves members of one state as a result of a series of historical accidents. Most of the countries use schools as an instrument of intensive propaganda to instil the ideal of national unity and identity. When local languages are polarized or discarded in the name of politics, the minorities will always suffer.

Sometimes the expression "mother tongue" is difficult to define in a multilingual society where a child could speak two or more languages before he even sets out for school. My research on Nigerian languages carried me to many towns and villages. At Sapele, Lagos, Port-Harcourt etc, I discovered that some children found it difficult to say which was their mother tongue.

The claim that the child learns more quickly through its mother tongue than through an unfamiliar linguistic medium needs qualification in the context of a multilingual society like Nigeria: most of the myriad of local languages are handicapped by limited or no teaching material available to make their use effective. Moreover, children can easily switch from one language to another provided that such a language is strongly desired for them by their parents and properly taught by their teacher. However, such situations are normally imposed by circumstances. The logical approach to a child's learning appears to be through the medium of its mother tongue.

What we have said about the necessity of mother tongue in a child's formal education is equally true of adult education. The importance of the inductive method cannot be overemphasized. Education based on the principle of working from the "known to unknown" is the most logical approach in imparting knowledge. Adult education will be easier in the mother tongue. The erstwhile illiterate is at once given the tool of enlightenment and thus becomes a more useful member of the community. He can now read and write: read newspapers, simple stories, letters, and thereby enjoy new forms of entertainment in his native tongue. He can read instructions and notices in public places and confidently observe the rules and regulations. He can write his name and have a normal signature, and will no longer depend on the thumb sign or mark for self identification. He can henceforth, in writing, hand down to posterity some of his knowledge, the secrets of his wisdom, art or trade.

He is more self-confident and independent because of a sense of restored dignity. Thanks to the use of the language of the soil, he can be transformed into a new breed of man within a short space of time. The reason is simple: as he knows his language thoroughly, he is operating on familiar grounds with a tool he knows very well, and can often manipulate better than the so-called highly educated man in the town who cannot read or write his mother tongue effectively. The Baptism of literacy in his own language confers on him a sense of belonging to the society. He acquires a new cultural dynamism and psychological equilibrium that give him a new lease of life. Although he may be monolingual, he is more original in vernacular than his formally well educated compatriot who wrongly claims to be bilingual and competent in both the mother tongue and English.

I have noticed that when the so-called bilingual educated Nigerian is trying to speak his mother tongue, he is overwhelmed with double interferences

in "langue and parole". These are different types of overlapping of the two languages. The former refers to those non-native elements learnt by an individual (monolingual and bilingual) in the childhood acquisition of his language. These are the products of completed linguistic diffusion or integration and involve the entire speech community. (cf. (a) the influence of Igbo in the speech of an Ogoni-man; or of Yoruba in that of an Itsekiri-man. (b) some English words and expressions, such as 'good morning', etc., are now so integrated into Nigerian languages that they form part and parcel of them). The latter, that is interference in parole, refers to those elements in secondary language which some regard as models in mother tongue. These are acquired not through childhood learning of mother tongue but rather through subsequent contact with the secondary language, that is, through bilingualism. (For example, in the conversation of some educated Igbo speakers, one notices so many and, but, so, nevertheless, well, etc.).

Mother tongue in the bilingual primary education programme in Nigeria

The use of mother tongue in education is not new. It is as old as education itself. Several centuries ago in England, King Alfred devised a programme of compulsory universal primary education in the vernacular. He recognized, at the same time, the importance of bilingual education for national and international communications, hence he stipulated that the international language, Latin, should be taught in the secondary or 'grammar' schools throughout the Kingdom.

In many countries education has always been intimately associated with religion. Children have always been easy targets or sure converts for established religious organisations who would prefer to impose the language of religion in the education of youths. The primary aim of such education was the production of priests and adherents or worshippers. The production of civil servants, which later became the main function of the educational system, was originally a by-product of an education aimed at producing priests. Under such conditions the language of religion became, in most cases, the language of education, that is, the language of literate classes or of a tiny elite. An obvious linguistic disadvantage of this system is that it did not matter whether the language of religion, and therefore of education, was different from the mother tongue of the population at large. Thus for many centuries, Sanskrit, the language of Hinduism, was the language of education in Northern India; Latin, the language of christianity, was the language of education in Western Europe; and Arabic, still the language of Koran and education in the Moslem world. The advantage of the system was that the possession of a common language by scholars broke linguistic barriers and facilitated communication over large areas of diverse tongues. In northern Nigeria, the Hausa language, the subsidiary language of Islam, is still the language of education over a large part of the area.

In multilingual Nigeria, the basis of the educational system is bilingual at the primary level. Various authorities concerned with this bilingual education must have a project which, though entirely educational in scope, should be based upon a threefold identifiable problem: educational, political and cultural. Educationally, we are underdeveloped; illiteracy is very high, much more higher in the rural areas than in the townships and urban areas. A much smaller percentage of children from rural areas enter school than do the children from the townships, and for those who do enter, the drop-out rate is alarmingly

high. So it is imperative that steps should be taken to raise the educational level of our rural school-goers and at the same time improve the number and the standard of the primary schools in the towns. Politically, the overall aim will be to evolve a system of education that will forge and enhance our national unity. To avoid major linguistic grievances of our rural populations, their languages must be taught or used in the public schools. These will be integrated into a national linguistic policy, that of developing a neutral lingua franca, indigenous or otherwise. Culturally, our rural communities will not be allowed to disintegrate under the impact of a rigid centralization of primary education, which does not necessarily bring any positive assimilation but rather loss of personal self-respect, breakdown of morals and moral values, breakdown of society and social restraints, and general demoralization. The plight of American Indians today illustrates this point. I realize that increased emphasis on the mother tongue, as the core of a culture, could help hold the culture together under the impact of Nigerian culture, and lead to a satisfactory integration.

The approach to be taken vis-à-vis the problems of bilingual education will be based upon the following basic assumptions (Watson 1972: 1-2):

(a) Every man has the right to at least initial education in his own mother tongue. This principle has received international endorsement as an inalienable human right. The International Labour Organization (I.L.O) regarding ethnic minorities, Part VI, *Education and Means of Communication*, Article 23 states:

> 1. Children belonging to the populations concerned shall be taught to read and write in their mother tongue or, where this is not practicable, in the language most commonly used in the group to which they belong.
>
> 2. Provision shall be made for a progressive transition from the mother tongue or the vernacular language to the national language or to one of the official languages of the country.
>
> 3. Appropriate measures shall, as far as possible, be taken to preserve the mother tongue or the vernacular language". (Geneva International Labour Conference, June 5, 1957).

(b) The first year is the most important year in one's education. The first year or two of school can make or break a child's attitude towards education. If he finds it difficult or meaningless it can start a cycle of failure that is hard to arrest. Equal educational opportunity for the nation as a whole must include a balanced bilingual education for linguistic minorities.

(c) Beginners in schools are more highly motivated when their own language is the medium of instruction. The drop-out rate will be high where the first entrants to the school find it difficult to study because they are using a language they cannot understand well. Linguists, UNESCO researchers and other bodies interested in language studies are all in favour of the use of mother tongue in the first school years because instruction in it increases motivation to study and at the same time paves the way for learning the national or official language.

(d) The needs of higher education should be anticipated when planning lower education. This would require, in Nigeria, a child's ability to master its mother tongue or one of the major indigenous languages and, later, ability in English.

(e) Books in a minority language raise that minority's self-respect.

Self-esteem enables a linguistic group to compete more confidently and consequently more successfully in the majority or national culture. This increases the group's willingness to fit into a national context.

An important point to note here is that a congenial attitude of any government towards mother tongue in education influences in turn the attitude of the group concerned. They will see language not only as a phenomenon of communication but also as a tool for broader perception or enlightenment; a mirror for individual group or national identification; a heritage inexorably tied to man's image of himself as an islet in the world of archipelago.

We know from the history of education in Nigeria that the pioneers — both colonial government and missionaries — did not initially include mother tongue in their programme. Their immediate aim was to train young Nigerians in English to satisfy their urgent needs for clerks, interpreters, catechists, priests, soldiers, policemen, houseboys, salesmen in commercial enterprises, etc. It was discovered later that the system needed overhauling because it was only effective with exceptional adolescents (the pupils in these days were in fact adolescents: married men with real children!). It was decided then to teach the children to read both in the 'vernacular' and in English, rather than in English only. The past experience had shown that children who learnt to read in English without being able to speak the language, did not learn to read with understanding. Children taught in this way usually had little idea of the content of what they had read. They learned to read by rote and did not learn to read with comprehension. Instead of reading being a source of pleasure and a means of acquiring new information, it became a mysterious skill one had to learn to pass examinations. Bright pupils persevered till they were sufficiently fluent in English to be able to read it with understanding. Less able pupils, however, got discouraged and felt that learning to read and write was too hard, and so they dropped out of school. On the other hand, if the children are taught first to read and write in their own mother tongue, they will be operating with a familiar tool in familiar grounds. So, from the first lesson the children read with understanding.

In these pioneering times there were attempts to run schools in the rural areas (then known as jungle areas!) by importing teachers from other parts of Nigeria. Those teachers did not know the local language or culture and had great difficulty in getting the children to understand what they were trying to teach. When the experiment in bilingual education was started, people from the "jungle areas" were trained as teachers. As they knew both the local language and English, they had no trouble in communicating with the children.

We have identified some glaring problems and examined the right attitude regarding the mother tongue in education. We shall now consider some basic facts underlying the use of mother tongue in initial learning process.

The best known linguistic approach to the initial instructions in primary schools is to be found in a bilingual system of education. My own personal researches and the experience of experts in other parts of the world, such as Mexico, Peru, the Soviet Union, Malaysia, the Philippines, etc., have shown that this can produce a satisfactory solution. If broadened and seriously tackled, the system will go a long way in solving Nigeria's education programmes in rural areas. The rapid spread of co-ordinated literacy in the Soviet Union — a country with over 130 languages — after the October 1917 Revolution, has been attributed to the fact that the linguistic minorities in that country are taught sufficiently first in their mother tongue before they are taught in Russian, the national language of the state.

The general principle is a graded progression from full use of the mother tongue in the first grades to full use of the national language in the move advanced grades. In the areas where the bilingual system of education is practised in Nigeria, the mother tongue is the medium of instruction in the first two or three years of the primary school. Elementary course in the national language (English) is introduced towards the last term of the last year of the mother tongue instruction. In the succeeding grades or classes, the mother tongue gradually becomes a minor subject in the curriculum; English takes its place as the medium of instruction; however, allowance of 2-3 periods a week is made for 'vernacular' reading.

Such a system needs a planned bilingual education programme. It requires a committee made up of representatives from the concerned agencies of the Ministry of Education and other specialist bodies to draw up the programme. Out of about 368 Nigerian languages, those belonging to the largest, most strategic population groups will be chosen at first stage. This will be extended later to include other minority language groups. With an alphabet and writing system already worked out, the curriculum will call for spoken simple stories and lessons, culture and folklore books, and the translations of Arithmetic, Ethics, Hygiène and science books into each of the chosen mother tongues. Because the success of the programme will depend on the availability of books and materials as well as of experienced or trained linguistic personnel, Teacher-training workshops will be conducted in the chosen language areas to teach the use of the new materials. No cut-off dates or numbers will be set for languages or materials, in order to provide for their further extensions from time to time.

There are two main problems in such a programme. Firstly, it means that all the teachers for classes from the first to the third year must be from the local area and able to speak the local language. Now that more and more teachers are being trained in the country, it should be possible in most areas to find sufficient teachers for the junior classes for the local area.

The second and more major problem is the need for text books in the different indigenous languages. But such a problem can be overcome. In Rivers State, for example, there is a project to provide 'vernacular' reading books in all the 16 main languages of the state. The project is being run by the Institute of African Studies at the University of Ibadan and the Ministry of Education of the Rivers State Government with the help from UNESCO. Before its closure in 1976 by the Federal Military Government, members of the Institute of Linguistics Jos were working in two of these languages for the production of reading books for the project: the first of these are already in use.

There is no fundamental reason why the same kind of project should not be set up in other states. Indeed, a number of education officials I saw during my research tours in several states showed interest in developing this kind of programme in at least some of their languages. In fact, a pilot scheme for the former Western State was organized by the University of Ife to test the effectiveness of using Yoruba as a medium of instruction throughout primary school, not just in the first three years, and teaching English as a second language.

I recognize that because of the peculiar multilingual position of the country — about 368 languages: 272 in the north and 96 in the south — it will be impossible to provide education to all our children in their respective mother tongues. But efforts must be made to cover the major ones.

In the *Sunday Times* of May 16, 1976, it was reported that children in Kano State beginning their Universal Free Primary Education programme in September

1976 would not learn the English language in the first three years. The twist, which may not be applicable to other states, is aimed at minimising children's difficulties in assimilating their teachers' instructions now given in the English language.

The hint was given by the state's Commissioner for Education while addressing primary school children at Malam Madwi during his tour of some educational establishments. He said that the falling standard of education in the state and throughout the country could be traced to the system of instructing pupils through a medium which is alien to them. He remarked:

> We have come to a conclusion that if the foundation is weak, the building structure is bound to be defective.

To this effect, he went on:

> Children from primary classes one to three would be instructed in their own mother tongue after which they could be exposed to learning in the English language.

This decision indicates that officials in the Kano State Ministry of Education have done some hard and relevant thinking about the purpose of education generally and about the use of English or any other language in learning processes. Great Africanists like the late Dr. Edward Blyden, for example, had advocated the use of indegenous African languages in schools as far back as the 19th century. There are also, ironically, reports written by former English education officials who recommended strongly that the mother tongue, being the vehicle of mother wit, African languages should be used as media of instruction in African schools. These reports are in the national archives all over the country.

Mr. Sola Akindele in his article, "English in our schools", published in the *Daily Times* of May 26, 1976, hammered also at these very facts:

> But there are alarming indications that the use of English as a medium of instruction in a society where about 95% of the people neither read, write, nor understand the language, is a costly blunder. This is why today, pupils complete six years in primary schools and their grasp of English is so shaky that they cannot use the language in their daily lives with a reasonable degree of competence. The tragedy of Nigerian pupils who attend so-called English-speaking schools is that they are unable to read or write any of their mother tongues.

In our present circumstances, the answer to the problem of the choice of language in education is to introduce education to children in languages that are close to their daily experience at home. Now that the Kano State has taken the initiative, the other Ministries of Education in the country should take a decision based on a critical examination of present realities, on whether or not it is wise to attempt to teach Nigerian pupils from mostly illiterate homes, through the medium of an alien language. This country has to take the question of an indigenous lingua franca seriously.

In conclusion, we must note the factors which are basic to any bilingual

situation, and, therefore, of greatest importance in determining the nature of the problems involved in the use of a second language as a medium of instruction. Nigeria has no indigenous official national language. This does not mean that we have no language that can serve that purpose but because of the past ethnic rivalries that disqualify any of the three main languages — Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba — as neutral. Today English is a second language for all Nigerians. It serves at the same time as an official national lingua franca. It serves this purpose for an elite, for only few educated ones. The majority of the semi-enlightened compatriots speak Pidgin English. This is why the bilingual education programme discussed above is based on mother tongue, and English — a second and foreign language.

In Nigeria, the children get acquainted with the official language early in their education. In some Special Nursery or Primary Schools in urban centres, the teaching of mother tongue is ignored and the children start their first year courses in English. The mother tongue and English have no equal prestige: English is at present by far a superior language by all standards. Gates of opportunities are closed against anyone who has no rudimentary knowledge of this prestigious language. From the academic, political, social and economic point of view, English is a live-wire of the nation: without it the very existence of the nation as an entity will be in danger because there would be a total black-out of mass communication and mobility.

This is the reason behind a total national support for English in the country. The consideration of its position as an international language is only secondary to its internal position.

We hope that a day will comme when the spirit of Ramatism will prevail to confer on the Hausa language the status of a national and official lingua franca, possibly side by side with English.

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CHAPITRE 9

CULTURE AND BILINGUALISM IN NIGERIA

Introduction

The educated Englishman is a member of a highly privileged society. His mother tongue is the national language of the country, and probably the first among the prestige languages of the world: it is a language with rich and renowned literature. He is therefore culturally self-confident and proud of his heritage. This is also the lot of the educated Parisian; that was also the lot of the then citizens of the great Empires of the past.

But cultural homogeneity is a rare phenomenon; this is also true of unilingualism which derives from it. Hence bilingualism or multilingualism appears to be the prevailing trend in most countries of the world. Even in a comparatively small and apparently unilingual country like Britain the Welsh-speaking Welsh and the Gaelic-speaking Scots, not to talk of the Lallans-speaking Scots, need bilingual intermediaries not only between themselves and the Government, but also for dealings in the law of the land.

In most cases, pronounced cultural differences in a society result in a state of bilingualism or multilingualism in such a situation, the spirit of accommodation is necessary for the preservation of unity among all the cultural and linguistic groups. This fact is noted in the following observation about Nigeria (Thomas and Williamson 1967:7):

> In a multilingual community, it is right that everyone should be proud of his own language and should respect and to some extent understand the languages of his neighbours. All languages and all cultures have a contribution to make towards human understanding and development.

Culture and language

The term culture is used by the social anthropologists to refer to all the traditional customs and ways of life of a community. According to Brosnahan (Brosnahan and Spencer 1962: 9-12):

> It refers to the total complex of modes of acting, of ways of thinking and of habits of speaking which are characteristic of a community; and to the products or the results of those ways of thinking and acting, namely, the ideas, the beliefs, the conceptions of that community, and what the anthropologists call the institutions that they have built up — that is, the religions, the forms of government and administration, the agricultural system, the language

> and so on. In short, by the culture of a community we mean all the learned and shared activities of that community and the results of such activities.

From the above definition, it can be inferred that language is not only part, but also the most important aspect of culture: it is a vital factor in linking, expressing, preserving and developing culture. A language is the soul of a culture: it is the tool with which the activities of a community are learned and shared. All the complex social, political, religious and economic interaction of the members of a community which goes together to make up its culture is only possible through language. So language, besides being a cultural institution in the same way as religion or government, is also the link between most, if not all, other institutions of the culture. It is the enchainment of the culture of a community.

If the language which the community uses enables the members of that community to talk about all or almost all the rest of their culture, it must have words to express all that is found in that culture and does not bother for words to refer to such things that are not known in the culture. For example, the Ijos who live in the Niger Delta have no words for seal, apple, beet, snow, etc. because these things are strange to them, but they have words for hippopotamus, waves, regatta, fishing and different words for the rarest types of fish along the Gulf of Guinea. The complete vocabulary of a language acts therefore as a sort of index to all the various objects, interests and activities which make up the culture of the people who speak it. That is why it will be impossible to become acculturated into a community without the language of that community which is the major factor of learning in a culture. Although a child learns some activities through the gestures of his mother, his seniors and elders, but by far the greater part of his learning comes through the language of his community. Such learning is acquired through both formal and informal education: a man is confronted with at least a language throughout his life. Language is thus by far the most important means by which an individual becomes a member of his social community.

But a language is a tool of limited use. It is useful but only within the particular culture in which it is used. A language is quite satisfactory as long as one thinks about things or ideas for which his language has words. As soon as he tries to think beyond these limits, he will find it not only difficult but impossible to get words to use. Thus, a language not only enables its users to think about the various aspects and relationships of their own culture, but also almost compels them to think only about these things. If through conquest or colonialism or trade a community with its language and culture is brought into a situation in which it must communicate with another community having a different culture and language, difficulties of comprehension and misunderstanding in oral communication may arise and where the cultural differences are extensive such misunderstanding is likely to be considerable.

Language is also the main means by which a community builds up and stores experience and transmits this collective experience from generation to generation. This forms the wisdom of that community. And this is what, in Nigeria, we call traditions of the land. These include opinions or beliefs or customs handed down to us from our ancestors: what the community must do in certain specific circumstances, what an individual must do in some particular difficult situations, etc. This may be oral or written or both.

Language is a means of communication. It happens often that an individual with a good knowledge of all aspects of a foreign language might not necessarily be effective in his communication with native speakers of the language. This should not be a surprise if we realize that there may be a missing link or cultural gap between speakers with different cultures in their attempt to communicate in a common language.

Culture is a social phenomenon. It is the totality of the material and spiritual values accumulated and being accumulated by a given community. It is dynamic in the sense that it develops with time and is subject to both internal processes and external influence which can enrich or impoverish it. As it is reflected in the environment of the community, it plays a decisive role in the formation of the individual members.

To learn a language, cultural aspects of the native speakers of that language should therefore be gradually introduced and taught. The deeper one goes in learning the language, the more involved he gets in the new culture. But he unconsciously accepts and uses it in addition to his native culture. This process by which a man breaks away from his original culture to embrace a new one is what anthropologists call acculturation. The break is not however total in that he only absorbs elements of the other culture without abandoning his. Acculturation, as a process, comes about as a result of interaction especially between two different culture and language groups.

The non-verbal aspect of language could be as effective as the verbal since it plays a role in communication. Through mimics and gestures people communicate easily provided they operate on the same cultural wavelength, that is, if they understand themselves within the context of the culture of the native speakers of the language. Communication by mimics and gestures is language because, as a form of behaviour, it is the reaction of the organism as a whole to the immediate social environment. Though non-verbal, it possesses some essential characteristics of a language and, as such, the message it conveys could differ from one community to the other. There is no international homogeneity and understanding for mimics and gestures.

This emphasizes the need of taking into account the cultural aspects of the people whose language is being studied. But care should be taken to prevent the assessment of the cultural values of the people from the point of view of those of the learner. What is important is to compare and understand the differences between one culture and the other. Cultural values are always relative to time and place.

It is necessary to point out here that acculturation does not mean assimilation. In spite of the adaptation to a foreign culture and language, the Nigerian still finds it difficult to break entirely with his traditional environment. What he does in effect is to accept and blend the foreign civilisation or culture to his own. The adoption of elements of the Yoruba culture, for instance, by the people of the Egun language group from Badagry, does not make them forgo their native culture and language. Various ethnic groups in the northern states of Nigeria still retain their cultures and languages in spite of long years of being acculturated into Hausa. True linguistic acculturation does not lead to indoctrination. None of the three sub-divisions of acculturation — spontaneous, organised and planned — has proved to be an effective instrument in procuring assimilation of one culture by the other.

Let us illustrate the point further. We should not be ashamed to use English as our out-group language. When the work of Art leaves the hands of its

creator or inventor and is made public, it is no longer a mere property of the individual author but the public or universal property of those who have access to it and can make use of it. The same principle can be applied here to what we call international languages. English and French, for example, are universal languages, the public property of those who have access to them and can speak them.

Do these foreign languages in themselves affect or destroy our cultural heritage? The answer is a big NO. Foreign languages as such do not appreciably change the culture of the indigenous people who speak them. What influence the culture of the colonized countries are the implications of such languages. European languages, I repeat, did not change the cultural heritages of Africans. It is their so-called civilizing mission, otherwise known as Western Civilization, that affected our traditions and customs. Western civilization has three effective weapons for transforming or westernizing us. These are Greek Philosophy, Roman Law, and Jewish "rejected" Religion (or what we know as Christianity). These influence, deform, alter, condemn and sometimes destroy our cultures by giving them the connotations that make Africans, especially the so-called educated Africans, consider them as primitive, barbaric and uncivilized: we become ashamed of the historic pride and prestige of our forefathers. It is relevant here, however, to stress that by culture I also condemn and do not include inhuman cultural practices of the past such as human sacrifice, killing of twins, etc., which were due to ignorance and superstition. As a human institution, culture must be evolutive and not static.

A bilingual is one who exposes himself to another language and is therefore on the boundaries of cultures in that he can move freely between his and the new culture he has acquired. If this process becomes deep-rooted there is no doubt that he could be regarded as being bi-cultural in that he could switch not only languages but mannerisms, gestures, mimics and all other means of communications, both verbal and non-verbal. For a Nigerian, the acquisition of a modern language, say French, in addition to English, tends to make him multilingual and multi-cultural.

Sociolinguistic perspective of Bilingualism in Nigeria

Let us now focus our attention on the social aspects of bilingualism, that is, the interactions between different cultures and languages in the society and the reaction of the bilingual to his complex language situation.

There are two major kinds of bilingualism in Nigeria: local bilingualism and official bilingualism, that is, bilingualism in two or more indigenous languages as opposed to bilingualism in a mother tongue and English. It is the existence of the latter type of bilingualism which interests us here because of its present social, political and economic impact on the nation. As national development mobilizes ever-increasing proportions of the population in large-scale economic and social processes, and as Universal Primary Education (U.P.E.) will increase the rate of formal education and literacy, the proportion of bilingual individuals of the English – mother tongue type is bound to increase, since it is only bilingualism of this type which enables individuals today to be considered as educated or civilized and to participate in the westernized sectors of national life.

There are two main aspects or implications of this type of bilingualism in the country. The first concerns the irreplaceable social roles in certain situations, especially those that occur between English and the indigenous

languages, where one set of behaviours, attitudes and values supports the other and is expressed in it, and where both sets of behaviours, attitudes and values are fully accepted as culturally legitimate and complementary. For instance, although English is the language of higher education, of Government and most political pronouncements, of mass media, cinema and most literature, it is, however, virtually excluded from traditional institutions and ceremonies of chieftancy, festivals, birth, puberty and death. The bilingual is forced to switch from English to his native language to mark a shift between two cultures and thus between two distinct spheres of his relationship and activity. There is therefore some overlapping in function here because English, which is associated with superior social status, has, so far, not displaced indigenous languages from their sacred or assigned social roles. This is because the cultural elements involved cannot wholly be translated without mutilating the concepts and message inherent in such traditions of the land.

The second aspect of the English – mother tongue type of bilingualism concentrates not so much on the social roles that two languages play in the society, but rather on the convergence of linguistic and cultural systems of the two languages. The language and culture contact leads to bilingualism and acculturation with the resultant linguistic interference and cultural borrowing. Researches carried out by linguists and in particular Bloomfield (Bloomfield 1933) have revealed the fact that in most cases of language and culture contact, it is the lower or primary language that has abundantly borrowed from the upper or secondary language. This applies aptly to Nigeria. The diffusion of elements from the system of the secondary language into the primary language, may be due to the political, economic and social prestige and status, etc. which the English language acquires in relationship to the indigenous languages. This places great pressure on speakers of the indigenous or primary languages to use the English or the secondary language. This point explains why the study of linguistic and cultural borrowing in the country tends to be confined to English and the indigenous languages rather than the diffusion of elements from one indigenous language into another. Linguistically, this last case has certainly taken place between certain local languages but, socially, that does not attract much attention because of relative low status of the languages concerned.

This brings us to what is called linguistic interference which results from contact of two languages. We can distinguish between inteference in speech and interference in language.

The interference in speech, that is, the occasional overlapping of two languages, involves only those elements in secondary language which the bilingual considers as models and simply introduces them here and there into his speech in primary language or mother tongue. An Igbo bilingual, for example, uses often such words as and, but, so, yes, therefore, well, fine, go on, etc. while conversing in his mother tongue. The English words he 'pumps' into his speech were acquired not in the process of learning his primary language.

On the other hand, the interference in language, otherwise known as integration, is the regular use of materials from one language in another and this involves the entire speech community of both monolinguals and bilinguals. For example, the English – derived elements or words, such as dash, cinema, electric, handkerchief, kerosine, petrol, etc. are, for an Igbo speaker (bilingual or monolingual) part and parcel of his primary language, that is, part of the process of learning his own language. The new ideas and concepts only came into being as a result of contact with the secondary language which is embodied in

a new culture or civilisation. As they are totally foreign to Igbo culture and language, some of them have to be integrated wholesale.

In integration or the interference in language, the most obvious of the English – derived elements are loan words. The rate of entry of loan words into the indigenous languages generally depends upon the contact situation, whether forced or permissive, which tends to produce a situation which is correspondingly resistive or tolerant of the introduced words. But owing to the rather low status and limited functions to which the indigenous languages have been assigned, they all tend to accommodate loan words. Certain languages have, however, borrowed more liberally than others because of their longer history of contact with English. Such are Igbo and Ijo, and in general, the coastal languages as opposed to Hausa and Fulfulde or those of the interior parts of Nigeria.

At present, the rate of diffusion of English loan words into the local languages depends upon whether these languages and their peoples are abreast with the various modernisation processes requiring the coining of new vocabulary. Many loan words are wholesale borrowing with only slight modification in their form and meaning. Some of these are illustrated by the following examples from Igbo: goment, government; cotma, courtman; kapenta, carpenter; miliki, milk; dokita, doctor. Words that have had their meanings altered or extended include, for example, DASH, which is used to refer to all types of gifts: official or unofficial, legal or illegal. It is said that the natives associated the word with gifts because the early Europeans used it when throwing the gifts to them from their ships: "I dash you". In general, the loan words are not seen or treated as such by our people because, often, they do not know, or are unaware of, the fact that particular items they use in their speech originate from another language. Most of our loan words are loan translations. Among these are the following examples from the Igbo language:

hospital, uno-ogwu (uno=house, ogwu=medicine); school, uno-akwukwo (uno=house, akwukwo=book); aeroplane, ugbo-ɛnu (Ugbo)=boat, ɛnu=sky), etc. Broadcasters and translators certainly have a role to play here in these areas where new words have to be borrowed or coined for the indigenous languages.

There remains these linguistic items that occur in the speech of bilinguals because of the influence of English on the indigenous languages. One of these is the intra-sentence switching. In watching the Nigerian bilingual converse with his fellow bilinguals, what strikes one is the way he interlards his mother tongue with elements from English. These include words, phrases and clauses as illustrated by the following examples from Igbo language:

(a) Well, bea fum whenever idi free: well, come and see me whenever you are free;

(b) Chukwu ga punish those wicked ndiori: God will punish those wicked thieves;

(c) Anyway, anyi gafu tomorrow: anyway, we shall see tomorrow;

(d) What ka the man mɛlu ndi police?=what did the man do to the policemen?

Intra-sentence switching is a regular occurrence in the speech of all bilinguals. In fact, it is observed that the more competent one is in the use of English the more he is inclined to slipping bits of English words and phrases into his mother tongue during conversations. This is especially the case

with bilinguals of the same mother tongue. However, a bilingual hardly ever interlards his speech with English words when speaking with a monolingual with whom he shares a mother tongue. In such a situation, he may use only those English words that have become integrated into the mother tongue. It must be pointed out that the entry of English words into the local languages facilitates conversation among bilinguals, especially where the subject matter is about events and activities in the Western culture and civilization. Monolingual natives even consider the way the bilingual interlards his speech with English words as a sign of prestige and erudition.

In a country where English is a highly prestigious second language and is recognized as official national language, most bilinguals are competent in the formal, standardized and institutional form rather than the colloquial ranges of the language. This is because of the missing link in cultural contact with the speakers of the metropolitan style of the language. There are therefore different shades or degrees of bilinguals: there are pidgin bilinguals, incipient bilinguals, subordinate bilinguals and co-ordinate bilinguals, all occupying various segments of the occupational structure, from, for instance, labourers, cleaners, messengers and clerks to executive officers, secretaries, permanent secretaries and university professors.

Let us conclude with clarification of concepts. Culture is an index of the achievements of the society. This is expressed in terms of the material and spiritual development of that society. Language is embodied in the culture. It reflects comprehensively the historical development, social relations and spiritual aspect of the people who speak it. Therefore, language, as such, cannot and must not be learnt in isolation. A bilingual must learn the cultural aspect of his secondary language in order to broaden the scope of understanding of that language, be it indigenous or foreign.

Let us note that Nigeria, like most countries of the third world, has problems of cultural and, hence, linguistic diversity. Though official bilingualism is necessary for her social, administrative and economic integration, at least for the present, she also needs local bilingualism: different ethnic and linguistic groups must learn each other's culture and language so as to understand and become tolerant of each other's way of life and thus be able to live peacefully side by side.

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CHAPTER 10

PIDGIN ENGLISH: UNOFFICIAL LINGUA FRANCA IN NIGERIA

Introduction

What is pidgin? Is it a language? What are the sociolinguistic prerequisites for pidginization? Has it identifiable characteristics? What is the cause for its lack of prestige? Why is it always associated with the countries of the third world? What are some of its social forces or functions? Why has it the largest number of speakers than any other lingua franca in Nigeria?

Our purpose here is to provide the public with some answers to these questions. We shall therefore examine the meaning, structure, characteristics, communication roles and the world distribution of pidgins and creoles in multilingual societies. With special reference to Nigeria, we shall look at its development and evaluate its comparative linguistic weight among the other major languages spoken in the country.

Definition, structure, characteristics

When a language is used as a means of contact or communication between persons having no other language in common, for example English today in Nigeria, it is a lingua franca. When a lingua franca is native to none of those using it and has a sharply reduced or deformed grammar and a limited vocabulary, it is called pidgin. When a whole speech community gives up its former language or languages and takes a pidgin as its mother tongue, the pidgin becomes a creole, that is, it is said to be creolized.

The definition of pidgin excludes both the broken English of a beginning learner and the skilful but non-native use of English in such countries as India, Ghana or Nigeria. The term is applied to a number of varieties of speech that have grown out usually of European languages such as English, French, Portuguese, Spanish and Dutch, and have been used in various parts of the world since the 17th century.

The origins of present-day pidgins can be traced to voyages of discovery, trade, conquests, slavery, migration, and colonialism which brought some Western European States in contact with the rest of the world, hence a good number of them have arisen on the basis of various European languages. The first known pidgin, also called lingua franca or "Westerners' language", of the medieval Levant and the Barbary Coast, was based chiefly on Italian. It is said that among the American Indians first encountered by Englishmen in the 17th century were a tribe known as Pidians near the mouth of the Orinoco; the reduced language that emerged from their contact was termed Pidgin English; the word Pidgin is therefore derived from Pidian. Later in the same century, other varieties of Pidgin English grew up in China as a result of English commercial contacts and in Africa in connection with slave-trading activities. The establishment of plantation economics in the Caribbean area, with large groups of Negro slaves from different language backgrounds in West Africa led to a growth of a number of pidgins based on English, French, Spanish and Portuguese. Pidgin languages spring from the initial, non-intimate contacts between speakers of

different languages, when quick comprehension of a dominant language is more highly valued than grammatical correctness or fine shades of meaning. If the interlingual contacts are maintained for a long time, the linguistic groups grow closer and normally one group learns the standard language of the other more fully; and pidgins survive the stages of initial contact only in special circumstances of multilingualism.

As creative makeshift adaptations of other languages, reduced in structure and use, a pidgin is no man's first language. It demonstrates the universal tendencies in man to communicate verbally with his fellowman and to adapt speech and varieties of a language according to situations of language contact. It is marginal in the circumstances of its origin and in the attitudes towards it on the part of those who speak one of the languages from which it is derived. Much of the information about pidgin has been prejudicial. Its origin, for instance, has been explained by inherent ignorance, indolence and inferiority of the peoples of the third world, rather than by purely historical and social forces that brought peoples of different civilizations to share a common destiny. Pidgins are of central importance to our understanding of language because their origin and development under abnormal conditions attests to interwoven characteristics of language and human nature.

The West African Pidgin or coastal English forms a kind of a lingua franca which is spoken all along the Atlantic Coast of the Gulf of Guinea from the Gambia to Cameroun, a region characterized by its extreme linguistic heterogeneity. It is an Euro-African lingua franca whose vocabulary is predominantly English, with African elements. The grammar and syntax are African and generally derive from the indigenous languages spoken in the regions where these pidgins have developed but with particular traits which cannot be specifically ascribed to any language in the area.

For sociological and political reasons, there has been almost no development of a Pidgin French of this type in West Africa. This is largely due to the French colonial policy of total assimilation which resulted in French being the only language officially used in administration and education. It is noted however that in West Africa (Pierre Alexandre 1972:59):

> one speaks rather of "français-tirailleur" or "français-tiraillou" to designate the deformed French used in the army or on construction sites by Africans who did not have the chance to go to school. It is a language without prestige, regarded as comic by educated Africans, used in contemporary African literature in a way reminiscent of the pseudo-patois of Molière's peasant or of Nucingen's accent in Balzac.

The Français-tirailleur has always remained at the level of an auxiliary jargon. Its users themselves prefer either pure French or an African language. On the other hand, pidgins and creoles with English or Portuguese lexical base have given birth or are now giving birth to real languages in West Africa: Krio in Sierra Leone is already such a real language; Kriyol in Guinea Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands is another.

In its original function as a lingua franca among unlettered folk, a pidgin language is a medium of purely oral communication, as also are creoles in their initial stages. Only afterwards, and usually in connection with missionary or other educational programmes, are spelling systems devised for pidgins

and creoles. Speakers of European languages, as in Nigeria, have often applied the orthographical conventions of those languages instead of using phonemically based systems. In the November 12, 1976 issue of the *Lagos Weekend*, a pidgin sentence in "Life With A Wakabout" for

> After the birth of the child, she managed by dubious means to enter a Universal Primary Education (U.P.E.) college but was again sent away because she was not qualified ,

is rendered thus:

> "E born di pikin finish now and manage take wuruwuru enter U.P.E. college and dem drive am comout again bicos dem say e no get sabiticate".

The spelling system like this embodies all the inconsistencies of English orthography and is therefore difficult to learn; it distorts the structure of pidgin and makes it confirm the belief that it is only a ridiculous reduction or deformation of English. In a well developed Pidgin English like the Melanesian Pidgin, orthographies have been devised and phonemically based systems used for ease of learning, accuracy in representing linguistic structure, and emphasis on the independent status of the language.

As can be seen from the pidgin sentence above, the reduction or simplification or adaptation which characterizes pidgin extends to all aspects of linguistic structure (sounds, forms, constructions) as well as vocabulary. In Nigeria, users of pidgin often carry over habits of sound production from their native languages. Thus, one can easily distinguish between a Yoruba and Igbo or Efik pidgin speakers. Although not devoid of grammar, grammatical categories — such as number, gender, case, person, tense, mood, voice — are almost absent from our Pidgin English, as they are from many other languages of the world.

Since the pidgin vocabulary is not vast, each word necessarily has a greater range of meaning than its English counterpart. The central meaning of the Nigerian Pidgin word for "brother" is intimacy, as is shown by its extension to include brother, relations, townsmen, very intimate friends and associations. Non-English meanings of pidgin words often reflect native social structure, as when "wife", in addition to its normal meaning, also means brother's, father's, relation's and close friend's wife. A sister calls her brother's wife "my wife" instead of sister-in-law.

Nigerian Pidgin is composed of English, indigenous languages and very few elements from other sources. The proportion of vocabulary elements in Pidgin English derived from non-English sources is small. Of about 1000 words in our pidgin, not over 10% are of non-English origin. Of these, perhaps more than half are derived from Igbo. The remainder are from other local languages as well as from various other sources, for example, "boku" (plenty) from French "beaucoup"; "onuku" (fool) from a Camerounian word meaning "friend": it is said that Ibo traders at Onitsha associated this word with the naive manners of Camerounian traders who came to buy from them.

In the structural reduction from English to pidgin, the main grammatical characteristics have been kept (the part of speech system, the dichotomy between subject and predicate, the use of phrases functioning as single parts of speech), though often with different identifying features. Nevertheless there have been extensive carryovers from non-English structural patterns because speakers of

native languages have translated their own constructions into pidgin, especially in the early stages of its formation.

On account of their characteristics, pidgins have been traditionally classed as deviant dialects of standard languages, hence they are often termed "broken", "baby-talk", "monkey language", "bastard jargons", "mongrel lingos", or whatever other pejorative terms. These are wrong impressions of pidgins. They are in fact languages like any others in their own right and not just interlingual corruptions or macaronic blends of standard languages. They demonstrate dramatically the interdependence of language and society, and can be accurately delimited and described.

Again, it is said that what characterizes all pidgins, even the most important ones, is simplification, that is, their impoverishment by comparison with standard languages from which they are derived. But if all languages are by nature complex, it is debatable whether pidgin is simpler or less complex than its standard language. If the primary use of language is for self-expression, does pidgin fall short of this role? Does it not express one's thoughts and ideas? Is it concerned only with practical gesture-like interchange? The Nigerian Pidgin English is a language; it is one of our 368 indigenous languages.

The main lesson from sociology is the understanding of how membership in groups and location in differentiated social structures determines human social behaviour in given situations. In all of our pidgin studies, we are dealing with cases of subordinate language or languages in contact with a language of dominant group or superior standard. Whenever this contact situation occurs, the general sociolinguistic principle will be for the linguistic forms produced by the speaker of the subordinate language in formal context to shift towards the prestige language, that is, language of superior standard in an unsystematic manner. This is what happened when the contact between Nigerian indigenous languages and English language produced our Pidgin English. The educated, but distinctly regional, varieties of English in Nigeria form a linguistic ladder between the English language as spoken by Englishmen at the top of the ladder and the Nigerian Pidgin English at the bottom.

According to A.D. Grimshaw there are four possible perspectives on casual relationships between social structure and language (Hymes 1971: 427-428):

> "Briefly, it can be argued:
> (1) that language structure or behaviour causes social structure or behaviour;
> (2) that the reverse is true:
> (3) that the two sets of behaviours and structures co-occur and mutually influence each other, or;
> (4) that both sets are determined by some third factor, whether that third factor be the organization of the human brain or the necessities of the human condition".

Thus, there are some sociolinguistic prerequisites for pidginization. There is the question of a higher culture or civilization in contact with multilingualism or several local civilizations. In Nigeria, for example, Pidgin English is a necessity among the common people in the south where there is no lingua franca, than in the north which is characterized by the dominant Hausa language. Another condition is the social status of the primary (Englishmen) and secondary (educated Nigerians) speakers of the prestige language (English)

vis-à-vis the secondary users (illiterate and semi literate Nigerian pidgin speakers), who are associated with social and linguistic inferiority.

The important point to note is that more than two languages in contact are required for the birth of a true pidgin. The common people who are to be the speakers must come from two or more different and mutually unintelligible language backgrounds, and there must also be a dominant (and usually alien) language which supplies much of the vocabulary. Thus, the English language in contact with the indigenous Nigerian languages differed sufficiently enough as to allow situations of linguistic interference to develop. Equally important are the industrial and commercial contexts within which contacts have occurred, namely trading or agriculture etc. This also includes the social organization of work— indenture, slavery, free, contract, etc.

It must be emphasized that the languages which we recognize today as pidgins are not spoken by foreigners nor even primarily by dominant speakers of a standard language among themselves. Thus, Nigerian Pidgin English is not spoken between English and Nigerian speakers of standard English, but rather among Nigerians of different and mutually unintelligible languages and dialects. But as the occasion which necessitates the use of the interlingual pidgin is the bringing together of different Nigerian speakers of various indigenous languages under the domination of English speakers, pidgin will contain a great deal of English vocabulary. Rarely does the Englishman or American or Australian take the time and effort to learn pidgin as he would have to learn any foreign language.

World distribution of Pidgins and Creoles

Pidgins

A survey of the world distribution of pidgins demonstrates the fact that the process of pidginization is a natural world-wide phenomenon. It gives us a glimpse, if not an insight, into the probable pattern of linguistic evolution of most of the existing speech forms throughout the world. We can never know how many of the 'normal' languages of the world originated via this pidgin-creole process. We know from the linguistic history of France that the French language was once a pidgin or contact language which later developed into an important vernacular or a creolized Latin.

Unlike creole, pidgin is an auxiliary rather than a native language. Its users naturally make use of their respective primary languages. Estimates of total number of speakers throughout the world are therefore difficult and unreliable, but (Hymes 1971: 17):

> one could safely say that 2 or 3 million persons daily use some form of pidgin in at least some language situations.

In the following list of world pidgins, the term is taken in its broader perspectives. We have therefore divided pidgins into two categories: those derived from European languages and those from non-European sources. We have made a good use of 'A Survey of the Pidgins and Creoles of the World' by Ian F. Hancock (Hymes 1971: 509-523) where detailed bibliography of the sources of information were given.

Pidgins derived from European languages: Hawaiian Pidgin English: is used as a first language by many of its 500,000 speakers. It is English-derived, with possible influence from Chinese, Japanese, Hawaiian and various Philippine languages.

Pidgin Eskimo: is a number of varying Eskimo pidgins used in trading with Whites, and a quite different Eskimo pidgin used in dealing with the Athapaskan Indians.

Venezuelan Pidgin Spanish: is used principally by two Amerindian tribes inhabiting Western Venezuela, in their dealings with traders in the area.

Pidgin French of North Africa: also called 'Petit Mauresque', is used by Arabs of North Africa.

Kru Pidgin English: Kru fishermen whose tribal home is in Liberia employ a highly conservative form of English-derived pidgin in their dealings with other African communities along the West African coast. Known as Kru (Kroo) English, it appears to be most closely related to Freetown Krio, and must have influenced various English-derived pidgins on the coast.

The Petit-Nègre or Pitinègue: is a pidgin French spoken in the Ivory Coast and other former French possessions on the West African coast. It was used mainly by soldiers.

Cameroons Pidgin English: is also known as Bush English, Cameroons Creole, West Coast, Wes Cos, Broken English, etc. It is used by over one million speakers as a second language in the former British Cameroons, and by many others in the former Eastern Nigeria and on Fernando Po Island.

Asmara Pidgin Italian: was originally developed when Eritrea was an Italian colony, and is still current in that part of Ethiopia.

St. Helena Pidgin English: is spoken on the Island of St. Helena in the Atlantic Ocean, off the south western coast of Africa.

Hobson-Jobson, 'Babu English' or 'Chhi-Chhi': is a rudimentary pidgin English employed during the period of British rule in India.

New Guinea or Papuan Pidgin English: is creolized in some areas. It has some lexical and structural influence from indigenous Papuan languages, but interintelligible with Melanesian Pidgin English and Solomon Island Pidgin English or Neosolomonic. An enterprising newspaper, *Nu Gini Toktok*, is published in Port Moresby.

Melanesian Pidgin English: is also known as Neo-Melanesian, Sandalwood English, Bêche-de-mer, Beach-la-mar, etc. It was originally an offshoot of China Coast Pidgin. It has now over one million speakers. This figure includes however speakers of Papua Pidgin English with which it is usually classified.

Solomon Island Pidgin English or Neosolomonic: is similar to Melanesian Pidgin English.

Australian Pidgin English: is a direct development of Neo-Melanesian. Similarities shared by this group of pidgins are in part due to the illegal practice of 'blackbinding', whereby inhabitants of widely separated areas were pressed into plantation work, where the use of pidgin then became necessary for mutual comprehension.

New Caledonia Pidgin English: is sometimes referred to by French writers as 'Bichelamar'. It has some similarities with Réunion Creole because settlers from that island arrived in New Caledonia during the 18th and 19th centuries.

Maori Pidgin English: is now no longer spoken, but was current during the early years of colonization. It is similar to Neo-Melanesian, Australian Pidgin English, etc.

Pidgins derived from non-European languages:

Ewondo Populaire: is also known as Bulu des chauffeurs, Bulu bediliva, Pidgin A 70. It is an African-derived pidgin in use over a large area of the French Cameroun, between inland tribes of differing linguistic backgrounds. It emerged as intertribal medium of communication between the labourers employed on railway construction after the first World War. It spread along the large traffic routes, in the market places and in the urban centres and is today spoken in the entire southern part of the Cameroun Republic. It is particularly widespread amongst the lorry drivers, traders, prostitutes, labourers, police force and all those who either have no command of the French language or do not want to speak it.

Pidgin Hausa, called Barikanci: otherwise known as Bastard Hausa, grew up around the European barracks in northern Nigeria and was used as lingua franca in the armed forces, particularly in the West African Frontier Force (WAFF), the local army of the West African Colonies, by the officers and men of different languages composing the force. The Pidgin Hausa was already popular as a lingua franca throughout northern Nigeria. Its introduction into the army shows that the authorities recognized the importance of proper understanding and speech among soldiers who were mostly illiterates. This 'Army Hausa' was also used by the W.A.F.F. in the then Gold Coast as means of communication between speakers of diverse languages.

Galgaliya: is a pidgin Arabic used by the Kalamafi tribe in north-eastern Nigeria.

Tekrur or Pidgin Arabic: is employed as a lingua franca over a wide area to the east of Lake Chad, and in the Bodélé region.

Sango: is a pidginized variety of the Ngbandi language (also known as Sango). It is extensively used in the Central African Empire (formerly C.A.R.), as well as in some areas of Cameroun and Chad. It has many lexical adoptions from French. It is creolized in some areas, notably in the capital Bangui.

Several pidginized forms of indigenous African languages current in Zaïre include:

(1) Kituba (also known as Kibulamatadi, Munukutuba, Kisodi, Fiote, Ikeleve, Kileta, Commercial Kikongo, Commercial Kikwango, etc.) derived from Kikong and used by perhaps 2 million speakers as a second language;
(2) Ngbandi or Pidginized Swahili, spoken in eastern Zaïre;
(3) Pidgin Chiluba, employed extensively in Kasai Province;
(4) and Bangala or Lingala, a pidginized Ngala used in and around Kinshasa.

Pidginized Swahili: Swahili itself is derived from Arabic-Bantu contact and inter-marriage. It has given rise to various pidginized forms widely spoken in East Africa. The most aberrant variety is perhaps the so-called Kisetta ('settler') spoken in Kenya between Europeans and Africans.

Pidginized Afrikaans: is employed by Hottentots and Afrikaners in the Namaland region.

Fanagaló: (also called Isikula, Silunguboi, Isilololo, Chilapalapa, Isikipi, Chikabanga, Mine Kaffir, Kitchen Kaffir, Basic Bantu, etc.) is a pidginized Zulu employed by migrant African workers around Johannesburg. It is also spoken

in parts of Zimbabwe.

Pidginized Chinese: is reportedly in use as a contact language on the north-west frontiers of Laos and Vietnam.

Pasá or Bazaar Malay: is a pidginized variety of High Malay in widespread use in Malaysia and Indonesia.

Pidgin Siassi: is a pidgin form of the Siassi language used as a lingua franca in Astrolabe Bay in New Guinea.

Creoles

It is pertinent here to have a look also at the world distribution of creole as many people often confuse the term with pidgin. Unlike a pidgin whose speakers have their respective mother tongues and which functions only as an auxiliary contact language, a creole is a native language or mother tongue of most of the speakers. The phase of creole development occurs when the pidgin becomes so widely used as to displace entirely the mother tongue of the speakers. Parents then use it to their children; the children grow up speaking pidgin as their first language; their children in turn learn it from the cradle, adapt and develop it into a complete set of responses to their environment. Its vocabulary and syntactic devices are therefore like those of any native language, large enough to meet all the communication needs of its speakers. Creole is spoken today in and around the Caribbean and by smaller and more scattered groups of speakers in West Africa (especially Sierra Leone and the Cameroun), South Africa (i.e. Afrikaans), and in South and south-east Asia (Macao and the Philippines). In West Africa and the Caribbean there is a small but growing literature written in creole languages. A creole is inferior to its corresponding standard language only in social status.

Here are some of the important creoles of the world:

Creole English of British Honduras: is fairly conservative, with many features in common with Jamaican dialects. It is a first language for a mainly urban population, as rural Hondurans use a variety of languages (Spanish, Mayan, Cariban) with creole as the lingua franca.

Papiamentu (Papiam, Papiaments, Papiamento, Curaçoleño, Curassese): is Spanish creole derived from an earlier Portuguese pidgin which is much influenced lexically by Dutch. It is spoken in three main dialects by upwards of 200,000 people in the Dutch A.B.C. Islands of Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao.

Jamaican creole English (Bungo, Quashee, Jagwa-Taak): is spoken in several closely related forms throughout the country.

Haitian Creole French: is spoken in three main dialects in the country.

French Creole dialects of the Antilles: is spoken in Guadaloupe, Desirade, Marie Galante, Les Saintes, Saint-Barthelemy, Dominica, Martinique, Saint-Lucia, Grenada, the Grenadianes, Trinidad and Tobago.

Sranan, the Creole English of Coastal Suriname: is also known as Taki-Taki, Ningre Tongo, Krioro, etc. It is spoken by many as a first language and by others both in the interior of the country and in the ports along the Guiana coast.

French Creole of French Guiana: is spoken by about 50,000 people inhabiting Cayenne and other smaller coastal settlements.

English Creole of Trinidad (Bouriki, Banana English) and the more conservative dialect of Tobago. The Trinidad variety exhibits influences from Barbardian Creole English as well as from various immigrant languages such as Spanish and Hindi.

Guyana Creole English, or 'Creolese': is spoken in British Guiana.

Brazilian Creole Portuguese: is still retained in varying stages of decreolization by some Brazilians of African ancestry living in rural areas, and known as Tabarenho, Matutenho or Caipiranho.

The Portuguese-derived creole of Cape Verde Islands: is spoken in two main dialects of Sotavento and Barlavento.

Creole English of Bathurst in the Gambia: here it is known as Aku, Krio or Patois. It is spoken as a first language by some 3,500 creoles or 'Akus', descendants of freed Yoruba slaves, and traders from Sierra Leone. It is also spoken by many more as a second language. There is no literature available for this creole but material for the freetown variety is useful.

Krio, the English-derived creole of freetown and nearby villages in Sierra Leone: it is spoken as a first language by an estimated 120,000 people, and is used as a lingua franca throughout the country by many thousands more. It is initially the language of the liberated African slaves during the 19th century. Krio is already well established as a lingua franca with a literature.

Liberian English (Americo-Liberian, Kwasai, Brokes or Water-Side English): is characteristic of the Liberian settlers in Monrovia and other towns along the Liberian coast, and represents a variety of nineteenth century United States Negro English Creole that was carried to West Africa by the freed slave settlers.

The Gulf of Guinea Portuguese Creoles: spoken on the islands of Annobon, São Tomé and Principe.

Afrikaans ('Taal' or 'Cape Dutch'): is sometimes referred to in colloquial Dutch as 'Baby Hollands'. It is the most important Dutch Creole. It may be said to be a rudimentary creole as its formation involved only semi-creolization away from the metropolitan language. Pidgin Portuguese was spoken at the Cape until the nineteenth century.

Réunion French Creole, Réunionnais, or Bourbonnais as it was formerly called: is said to be spoken by over 200,000 people.

Mauritian French Creole: is similar to Réunionnais. It is spoken by most of the population of 600,000 in Mauritius, and by several hundreds more (with Réunionnais) in Madagascar, especially at Tamatave, where Mauritius and Réunion migrants have settled. It is also understood as a trade language in the Comorro Islands.

Seychelles French Creole, or Seychellois: is spoken by over 40,000 people in the Seychelles Islands, and in Chagos and Agalega. The French-derived creole dialects of the Indian Ocean area are sometimes grouped together under the heading 'Mascarenian'.

Malacca Portuguese Creole, also known as Papia Kristang, Lusoatian, Serani, Malaqueiro, Malaquenho, Malaquense, Bahasa Gragu, etc., is still the first language of about 3,000 people in Western Malaysia.

Bagot Creole English: is spoken on the Bagot Aboriginal Reserve near Darwin in Northern Australia. Originally it was a variety of Australian Pidgin English, with possible influence from New Guinea or Papuan Pidgin English or Melanesian Pidgin English.

Position of Pidgin English in Nigeria

A glance at the world distribution of pidgins and creoles shows the effects of colonialism or conquest or contact of unequal civilisations in the

birth of these linguistic phenomena. They occurred in multilingual territories whose ethnic groups were forced into a geographical and political entity through the combination of military, economic, political and religious duress. As the members came from diverse linguistic backgrounds, they needed badly therefore a common medium of oral communication. This resulted in a creative makeshift adaptations of the metropolitan language by a teeming majority of illiterates and common men.

That was what happened in Nigeria. The English entered the slave trade themselves in 1562 when Captain John Hawkins took the first batch of 300 slaves from West Africa and sold them to the Spaniards in the West Indies. It was only after 1660 when they had colonies in need of slaves in North America did English slave trade grow, and soon they were by this growth forced to settle on the coast.

There was first 'wild trading' by passing Europeans from their ships through the exchange of gifts with the native kings or middlemen. These gifts were thrown to the natives from the ships with the accompanying expression of "I dash you", hence today the word DASH means gift in Nigerian Pidgin English. The trading itself settled into the hands of African middlemen who either were, or became, important in the local king's court. The dominant personalities among the African middlemen got more and more economic power into their hands. Negotiations were in English – native language – English or Pidgin English (depending on the level of education of the natives).

The slave trade was later replaced by colonization. The massive socio-political and socio-economic changes created a new linguistic situation between European and African society, and an uneducated wage-earning proletariat of non-permanent (or at best semi-permanent) residence arose, which adapted an available Pidgin English to its needs.

There were factors making for pidginization in the new society: colonization brought about large-scale political organization; there was need for the maintenance of law and order and this resulted in the recruitment of army and police force; economic development and social welfare, including education, were embarked upon; development of transport and communication systems – construction of railways, P and T network, roads, bridges – encouraged movement of people and goods; cosmopolitan living started; there was need for Europeanized administrative outlook; English was given greater official priority and had to be taught and learned while indigenous languages became only options at best; the group most in demand was that of unskilled workers and labourers, many of whom had no formal education and therefore could not speak correct English. Pidgin became the natural response to the needs of oral communication among such heterogeneous linguistic groups.

The Nigerian Pidgin English is thus produced under particular socio-historical circumstances:

(1) there was the mingling of peoples of different races, ethnic groups and cultures;
(2) this involved naturally more than two different linguistic groups;
(3) one of which (English) was smaller but socially, economically, politically and culturally dominant;
(4) and the other (Nigerian linguistic groups) was larger, socially subordinate, and included native speakers of about 368 languages;
(5) it operated under conditions in which the dominant group initiated the speaking of a pidgin that became common

language to both groups and served at the same time as lingua franca among the members of the subordinate multilingual group;

(6) there was no established linguistic continuum including both the pidgin and the native language (English) of the dominant group;

(7) the subordinate group could not accept one of its original languages for use among its multilingual members, either because none of its languages was a world language or because social and political conditions militated against such choice and perpetuation, or for both reasons.

In Nigeria, Pidgin English is spoken widely as a trade or contact language throughout the southern states and in the Sabon Garis of the northern states. The impact of pidgin is minimal in the north. The reason is because of the position of Hausa as the official lingua franca of the entire region. The Fulani Empire of the early part of 19th century had made this possible before the arrival of the British. Both "pure" and "impure" Hausa are understood by the vast majority of the population of the area. Pidgin is used only in the Sabon Garis which are special Quarters in big Hausa towns inhabited by migrant elements mainly from the southern parts of the country. There, both Hausa and English are used, but Pidgin English is the dominant lingua franca because of the heterogeneous nature and the educational background of most of the inhabitants.

With the exception of the city of Lagos, because of its cosmopolitan position as the Federal Capital, the use of pidgin is quite limited in the Yoruba states of Lagos, Ondo, Ogun, Oyo and parts of Kwara. This is because the Yoruba language has a central or standard form used by all the 20 dialect groups of the language.

The home of Pidgin English in Nigeria is to be found in Bendel and the four eastern states. The Bendel, Rivers and Cross River States have high linguistic densities. This compels the illiterate and semi-literate elements to adopt pidgin to facilitate interlingual communication. The position in Anambra and Imo states is different but peculiar. Both states are unilingual, in that they speak the Igbo language. But unlike the Hausa and Yoruba, the various dialects in this language in Anambra, Imo, Rivers and Bendel states have no central or standard form which could be centripetal for different dialect speakers.

This explains the reason for the use of pidgin among the Ibos in certain areas. If the dialects of a man from Owerri and another from Agbor are not intelligible enough, the speakers will revert to English or pidgin. The choice of one or other as medium of communication depends on the level of educational standards of the interlocutors.

As trade or contact language, Pidgin English serves as a lingua franca between different linguistic communities. The speakers of various Nigerian languages acquire — frequently under some economic duress — the rudiments of English: its basic vocabulary. They tend to pronounce these words according to the phonemic and morphemic patterns of their own languages. They go on speaking their own languages at home; Pidgin is used for contact purposes only, and when using it they tend to translate literally into it the idioms and metaphors of their own languages in which they think.

We are interested here in the consequences of these changes for the unofficial institutionalization of Pidgin English in the country. Many of the

structures then initiated in this language have persisted to the present day without major changes.

Let us locate the seat of pidgin in the social life of the nation at present. We find it used between master and servant, steward, garden boy, watchman. We find it also used between official or junior staff and unskilled labourer, sanitary labourer, P. and T. labourer, cleaner, driver, and possibly army private and police recruit. In these sets the two interlocutors are not members of the same social group, nor do they expect to become so. But Pidgin English is not only spoken between two unequal partners in the country, it is also used between equals of the subordinate group, where these do not share a common language, or where (even if they do) they do not want to exclude others of their group, who are present, from their verbal intercourse. The senior officials or educated elite use it here and there in discussions amongst themselves in familiar circumstances.

At home all the categories of speakers will usually return to the use of their own native languages. This retention of their own languages is the main reason why pidgin has not come to the stage of creolization in Nigeria. Another important factor is that most people of this type hope to return to their states of origin on retiring, and meanwhile go back there for irregular visits and during their vacation (leave) periods. While they are a wage-earning proletariat in the capital or other big towns they live in non-communities and therefore regard their places of birth as their true homes.

Northerners working as labourers in Lagos, for example, are obliged to speak Pidgin English, the unofficial lingua franca, in order to communicate with the rest of the population living in the city. Back in the northern states, they revert to Hausa, the dominant lingua franca of that part of the country or to their various mother tongues in their respective home-towns and districts.

These examples show that pidgin functions only as an auxiliary contact language and not as native languages of the speakers. Its use is evident in cosmopolitan towns, market squares and other places where many linguistic groups congregate for living or for business. If the interlingual contact ends, the pidgin also ends; there is no longer a need for it, and there are no sentimental attachments or nationalistic motivations for preserving a dead pidgin. In Vietnam, for example, pidginized French is disappearing as French disappears. This may soon happen in Tanzania with the rise in the use of Swahili and decline in the use of English. These are instances in u..lingual states or countries with a dominant native lingua franca.

In a multilingual state, a mere change of official language probably has relatively little immediate effect on a pidgin or creole. For example, in Haiti, French is the official language, French Creole the common one; in British West Indies, English is the official language but Anglo Creole is the common one; in Dutch Windward Islands, English or Dutch is the official language, while Anglo Creole is the common one.

According to the 1963 nationwide census of Nigeria, the percentage population figures of the main ethnic groups are as follows:

Hausa	21%
Yoruba	20%
Ibo	18%
Fulani	9%

Ethnic group and linguistic group are not synonymous. However, with the exception of Hausa, the two terms can be taken here as representing the same thing because the other ethnic groups have no appreciable second language

users or affiliations. Each ethnic group is identified with a common language. Hausa is an exception because the Hausa language is an indigenous lingua franca spoken by a large number of other ethnic groups, particularly in the northern states, as a second language or even, in certain cases as the adopted mother tongue. This may bring the figure of the Hausa speakers in the country to over 32%. This percentage figure for the Hausa linguistic group is therefore substantially higher than the 21% for its ethnic group.

There are three languages in the country — one regional, others national — with large number of second language users. Estimates of the speakers of these languages are:

Pidgin English	35%
Hausa	32%
English	15%

The strength of Pidgin English can be assessed from the above percentage estimates. Officially, English is the national lingua franca, but is is evident that Pidgin English is the number one, though unofficial, lingua franca in terms of the number and variety of its users, as well as the national coverage and popularity of the language itself in the country. In addition to traders, drivers, labourers, and all 'enlightened citizens', its clients include also all Nigerian English speakers.

There was some question at one time as to whether or not pidgins were languages. This was due to its increasing use in former colonial territories throughout the world. But despite demands for their use as easy neutral lingua francas, pidgins are always outclassed in contest with natural languages, both indigenous and imported. This is because there is always a superfluity of languages in multilingual states with the result that pidgins have no supporters among speakers with mother tongue loyalties. Though they are not officially recognized, they are actually in widespread and successful use. Without them communication would, in many areas, be severely hampered or almost impossible.

In many parts of West Africa, pidgin is no longer a low-status language imposed on the people by white colonialists, but is the people's own lingua franca, indispensable for communication and easier to learn than English, which is both more complicated and more foreign to them. If skilfully used, pidgin can serve as both a medium of instruction and a bridge to English. In any case, it is clearly destined to remain as an increasingly useful, though unofficial, lingua franca of ever larger groups in the peculiar circumstances of the West African region.

With the coming of modern civilization to Nigeria, pidgin has proved indispensable in our internal political, social and economic life. It is genuinely indigenous to a changing multi-ethnic environment. On account of the circumstances under which it has been developed, it concentrates on the grammatical essentials, and is thus easy to acquire. But as it exists side by side with model English to which it is closely related, linguistic interference between them can make it much more difficult for the pidgin — speaking school — child to acquire 'correct' English, since he finds it difficult to keep the two systems distinct.

The continued survival and evolution of pidgin in the country depend primarily on its role and not on its inherent structure. Though the drastically limited vocabulary and syntactic devices may condition adverse social prejudices against it, they need not in themselves lessen its chance of survival as long as social conditions still call on it to continue to perform its role of interlingual communication. In fact, its limited resources is

the very cause of its popularity among the illiterate and semi-literate segments of our society.

The Universal Primary Education in the country may have much effect on the number of pidgin speakers: the drop-outs of the scheme may increase substantially its users; while the successful number of turn-outs may proportionally decrease the main source of its clients.

A considerably more complex case of pidgin influence on social development of Nigeria can be found in those situations where it has become the vehicle for the development of a sense of social cohesion, shared identity, and nationalism. It makes it possible for groups of ethnic and linguistic diversities to replace fear, suspicion, and hostility with communication, understanding and a sense of common identity. This seems to be its main function both before and after independance.

No matter how pidgins are labelled and classified, it is obvious that the presence of Pidgin English in our peculiar circumstances has a direct impact on the course of social events in the past, at present, and will continue at least for sometime in the future.

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CHAPTER 11

A SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY OF LINGUA FRANCA IN NIGERIA

Introduction

In a unilingual state, the whole or the great majority of the population is able to communicate with each other without difficulty. Geographical mobility presents no special problems for the individual or for organisations. And in such cases, the language of the country, being a possession of the whole community, is an important factor in the binding together of the nation. Furthermore, the language of education and administration is the same as the language of the home. The political, social and economic advantages possessed by unilingual nations are a powerful factor for the mobilization of people and resources for nationhood.

Most nations, however, are multilingual: they have within their borders groups of people speaking different languages. In Asia and Africa, we find extreme cases of multilingualism. This is complicated by the fact that a great many of these nations have often no majority language, that is, no language which is spoken as a mother tongue by more than fifty per cent of their population. This is true of the countries of the third world.

Problems connected with a suitable national language have ever plagued nations whose geographical or political territory covers two or more ethnic communities. And only few nations can lay any reasonable claim to being strictly mono-ethnic. What is called a national language is often, in the context of third world countries, not so much the universally spoken language of a nation, as merely the official language (the language of official documents) or at best the central language (the dominant language) of the nation. Even the so-called advanced civilisations had their fair share of the national language problem before their adoption of a central language. And even to date a variety of vernaculars continue obstinately to influence notably the speech of even well-educated native speakers of highly developed modern languages, including the so-called world languages like English and French.

The diversity of languages is one of the fascinating expectations of a traveller to foreign countries. One wonders, at this point, whether the confusion of tongues resulting from the biblical construction of the Tower of Babel was not a providential exercise. If all the inhabitants of our planet were to speak the same language, would the world not be quite uninteresting to live in because of monotony?

The diversity of languages should be regarded as a source of harmony. Man always looks for differences to complicate human relations: race, colour, sex, social class, religion, language, ideology, politics, etc. The multiplicity of languages spoken by man is not the sole cause of lack of understanding and conflicts in national and international relations. In other words, a multilingual society may be more peaceful and more progressive than a unilingual state.

The talent of man has succeeded in some way in reducing distances and neutralizing territorial frontiers. It ought to occupy itself further to reduce the linguistic prejudices. If the members of the U.N.O. find it difficult to agree in certain international issues, this disagreement is not due

to linguistic difficulty or misunderstanding alone. In short, the British Commonwealth with its unilingual advantage, is not a better and more effective organization than the U.N.O.

Although it is utopic to hope that men would be embracing one another if only they could understand one another's language, learning the languages of others is necessary in order that men can speak to one another and understand one another. And precisely, a lingua franca will lead to an increased understanding and unity as well as appreciation of the way of life, the civilization or culture of other peoples.

Communication roles of languages: language structures

For adequate communication within a multilingual society, one can distinguish at least three communication roles of language: the intra-community, the inter-community and the international roles.

The first function can be called that of intra-community language. This is naturally the mother tongue of a certain ethnic group. It is the language of people possessing common traditions and normally inhabiting a defined geographical location. In certain large language communities there is a tendency to the development of sub-lingual communities or dialects, all being fairly intelligible, however, to the speakers of the common language as is, for example, the case of Swiss-German, or Ondo-Yoruba or Ika-Igbo. Nearly all Nigerian indigenous languages belong to this group: as they are not mutually intelligible, each is communicable only within its linguistic locality.

The second function of language is what we may term inter-community language. Almost all the people living in an ethnic language community need to have contact with people of groups outside their own community. To avoid the use of interpreters there is a necessity of evolving a form of language to be used on all occasions when different ethnic groups meet together. In many parts of the world a lingua franca or Koiné serves as a medium of inter-community communication for societies or populations separated by language barriers. This is effected by the language of one group being imposed upon, or absorbed by, the language of another group; or by the use of an entirely foreign language; or by pidgin: a contact language somehow different from, but retaining certain simplified linguistic structures of the existing ones. In Nigeria, English or Pidgin-English serves this purpose for the whole country; Hausa for most parts of northern states; Swahili is the indigenous lingua franca in Tanzania.

The third major contact role of language is that of international communication. In many areas where there are both intra-community and inter-community languages, there is also need for a language of wider extension or a world language for international affairs. This is also the language of specialized information, that is, language of higher education or of specialized formal training. For example, in Nigeria, many of the speakers of about 272 local languages in the northern states also know the trade language Hausa which serves as an important inter-community language in the region. But any person who wants to acquire, through higher education, specialized information which comes from world culture and not the culture of the immediate intra- or inter-community groups, must learn English. Similarly, the speakers of Igbo, Yoruba, Edo, Ijo, Efik, Tiv, Kanuri, and Fulfude, either as mother tongues or as second languages, must learn English, their inter-community and world language, if they are to enjoy movies, watch television, read newspapers, carry on trade in areas outside of their immediate ethnic ambit, as

well as go on to secondary school or university, take positions of leadership in politics, business or social life.

These three communication roles of language give rise to three types of language structure: the unilingual, the bilingual, and the trilingual structures.

The unilingual structure is found among native speakers of major languages, such as English, French, German, Russian, or Chinese. Here, there is no difference between the intra-community language, the inter-community language, and the international language of the country in question. There may be a normal local regional dialect, but the standard form of the language serves for both most inter-community and world contacts.

Many countries of the world evolve a bilingual structure. Here the second language is used both for the inter-community and world contacts. Examples abound in Latin America, Asia, Africa, in short, in most of the countries of the third world like Nigeria, Ghana, Zambia, etc.

The trilingual structure also emphasizes multilingual situations. The Swahili-speaking countries of East Africa and the Amheric-speaking Ethiopians belong to this category. Here, an important intermediary language serves as an inter-community language separating the intra-community languages at the bottom from the world language at the top.

It must be noted, however, that when the linguistic world of a particular speech community is highly restricted, a trilingual structure may not always involve learning a so-called world language as a language of specialized information. For example, in Borno State of Nigeria, the Affade, Buduma, Bura, Glavda, Guduf, Jara, Kiyibaku, Laamang, Maha, Ngamo, Putai, Shuwa, Tera and Wandala native speakers may learn Kanuri as an inter-community language, but if they are to have much contact with the regional life, then it is essential for them to learn Hausa which thus becomes their language of wider extension.

The trilingual structure does not mean that people necessarily are restricted to learning three languages. In Africa where there is a greater percentage of multilingualism than in any other large speech area of the world, many people know three, four, or five languages depending on whether the circumstance of the contacts is obligatory or highly useful. On the other hand an illiterate farmer may remain throughout his life in his locality with his only intra-community language.

In Nigeria as a whole, we find examples of both two-language and three-language structures.

Bilingual structure:
1. Intra-community languages: local languages;
2. Inter-community and world language: English.

Trilingual structure:
1. Intra-community languages: local languages;
2. Inter-community language: Pidgin-English and English;
3. International language: English.

In Northern Nigeria, there is a trilingual phenomenon of language switching: the several mother tongues are spoken in the intimacy of the home; Hausa is used for inter-community communication; and English is used for elegance and status claims as well as for specialized information. There, Hausa and English thus become the regional and national lingua francas respectively.

Definition and causes of lingua franca

From the above description of communication roles of languages and language structures, we have seen that except within the intra-community or mother tongue group, communication with other linguistic groups is impossible except through a medium of an adopted new common language. Such an auxiliary or compromise language used between groups having no other language in common is called LINGUA FRANCA. It is important to note that trade, administration and communication form the basis of contact situations which can necessitate the development of a lingua franca. Hence it is sometimes called contact or trade or vehicular language. The language involved may be one spoken as mother tongue by one of the groups in communication with one another; it may be employed by all groups as a second language: the language in question may be indigenous or foreign.

The term lingua franca is derived from Italian words meaning Frankish Language. Some authorities maintain that it was perhaps first applied to a jargon or pidgin based on southern French and Italian and, to a less extent, on Greek and Spanish, developed by Crusaders and traders for use in the Levant or the eastern Mediterranean during the Middle Ages.

Examples are the lingua francas of ancient empires: Greek, Latin, Arabic, Turkish; or those based on the languages of the European colonizing powers, such as English, French, Spanish, Africaans and Portuguese; or those of African origin, such as Swahili, spoken on the coast of East Africa and inland through Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania and eastern areas of Zaïre, as well as to a less extent in Zambia; Lingala in Zaïre; Sango in Central African Republic; Hausa, with its home in northern Nigeria and the Niger Republic, but widely spoken as a vehicular language elsewhere in northern parts of some West African countries; others are Hindi in northern India; Melanesian Pidgin in the South Pacific; and Bazaar Malay or Bahasa Malaysia in the East Indian Archipelago of Malaysia and Indonesia.

The causes of a lingua franca, particularly in Africa, can be considered from two perspectives: is the development of the lingua franca a pre-colonial phenomenon or is it due to post-colonial Afro-European contact situation? A Lingua Franca is often imposed by conquest. Classical examples are the Greek, Latin, Arabic and Turkish languages imposed by the Greek, Roman, Islamic and Turkish Empires respectively. The development of languages of this type in Africa seems in the majority of cases to have been the result of warlike events in pre-colonial times. As languages of the conquering powers, they were carried into the territory of the subjected peoples and there spread as lingua francas. This can be illustrated particularly with regards to the important languages of West Africa (Heine 1970:23):

> Thus Mandigo as language of the Mali Empire, Song'ai as language of the empire of the same name, Kanuri as language of the Kanem-Bornu Empire or Twi as language of the Ashanti Empire presumably owe a large or even decisive part of their importance to their genetic position within these state formations. Hausa also owes its importance as a lingua franca to the expansion of the Ful Empires of Sokoto and Gwandu amongst whom it served as a predominant language .

Apart from military might, a lingua franca can also be imposed by religious, political and economic forces. The position of Hausa in the pre-colonial trade in West Africa favoured its development as an important lingua franca in the

region. Like the spread of Arabic in the Far East by Arab traders, Hausa was exported with wares by adventurous Hausa traders. Swahili is also an important language that was traded with wares into the hinterland by the coastal people of East Africa.

Furthermore, religion played a remarkable role in the spread of lingua francas of the pre-colonial type. Thus, Swahili was the language of Islam amongst the East African Moslems. Hausa, for instance, found entrance to West African territories not only by the expansion of the Fulani Empire, but also as a subsidiary language of Islamic religion amongst the neighbouring tribes. As more than 95% of the members of this religion did not know Arabic, they swung to Hausa, another alternative language of civilisation. The spread of this world religion has therefore indirectly influenced to a great extent the development and expansion of some African lingua francas.

With the arrival of the European powers and the subsequent colonialism, the European languages — English, French, Portuguese — were imposed upon colonised peoples as the languages of education and administrative systems. But with the development and extension of the communication network of roads, railways, and navigable waterways, the interior of the colonized territory was opened up and the tribes hitherto living in isolation came into contact with others. Thus, new centres were formed which facilitated the spread, not only, of a colonial language but also of important African languages. Coupled with new trade in European products, the stimuli for contact increased the need and the use of an available lingua franca.

The modern industries that sprang up with the advent of colonial administration caused labour migrations, increased contact and influenced the development of lingua francas (Heine 1970:24):

> Areas intensively cultivated or industrialized became the points of attraction for labourers of differing origin, and thus offered fertile ground for the origin of lingua francas.

The language of the indigenous population was swallowed by the inflowing people as a second language. Hausa offers a typical example here: the language was learned by immigrant labourers, traders and government officials who moved from the crowded south to the giant north to tap the vast opportunities awaiting exploitation.

The colonial government and the christian missions recognized, at a certain stage, the necessity of using important indigenous languages for the first few years of the child's primary education. This enhanced the prestige of Hausa in the numerous minority language groups in the north, and led to the entrance or inroad of Igbo in Rivers areas of the country especially around Port-Harcourt. This type of school lingua franca increased the importance of some languages by moulding the numerous dialects of a given language into a standard or central form. The fact that text books, Bible translation, hymns and all the vernacular literature are done in the language enforces its acceptance, at least in the schools, as lingua franca by neighbouring ethnic groups. Hausa and Swahili are well known languages in this category. Swahili was furthered in its importance by its recognition in Tanzania as the official national language side by side with English. During the Civilian Regime in Nigeria, under the Government of the then Northern Region, Hausa shared official language status with English.

It is clear fromthe above illustrations that although the pre-colonial development of some African lingua francas such as Swahili, Hausa or Mandigo was independent of any European influence, their recent development and

standardization, however, were largely due to the Afro-European encounter during colonialism.

For example, centuries before the British took over the administration of Northern Nigeria, the learned malams had literary productions in Hausa written in Arabic letters or Ajami script. With the new era, an orthography based on the Latin alphabet was adopted and much work has been done in the new script by institutions which sprang up to purify the language as well as translate and publish new works. Furthermore, the Hausa Language Board was set up by the government in 1955 to further the standardisation of written Hausa.

It occurs often that with the differentiation of various ranges of forms and functions within a lingua franca, there is also connected with it a linguistic differentiation. Hausa, for example, has various pidgin dialects, each one of which is an expression of a different function. The pidgin development otherwise known as Barikanci or Bastard Hausa is caused not only by a geographical factor but also by the use of the language by some minority non-Hausa ethnic groups scattered throughout the northern states.

During my research investigations at Sabon Gari, one of the residential quarters predominantly inhabited by non-Hausa elements, in Kano, capital of Kano State, I discovered that Hausa, as a lingua franca, is well established throughout the town. Except for the few new arrivals to the town, all the 3000 persons interviewed admitted they could understand and speak Hausa with varying degrees of fluency. But only about ½% of them were using the language as the sole means of communication with the family. Between members of different families coming from different ethnic groups, Hausa, English or Pidgin-English are used. Some brothers and sisters communicate with one another in Hausa in their family; many parents converse also with their children in this language.

Characteristics of a lingua franca

A lingua franca has been defined as a common language which is habitually spoken in communication between groups of people with different mother tongues. The common language in question may be a first language or mother tongue of one of the groups, or a second language of all the groups using it. In other words, a lingua franca normally has its origin in a natural language, that is, any language adopted through a natural process as a first language by a group of people. Every lingua franca has therefore two forms: the natural or basis form, and the lingua franca form. These are clearly distinguishable (Heine 1970: 26):

> The basis form is that form of the language which is still being used as mother tongue, whereas the lingua franca form is spoken as second language, that is, not as mother tongue. The lingua franca form can be differentiated from the basis form by the fact of its having to undergo a process which often is defined as 'simplification', and which will in the following be called pidginization. The result of this process is, for instance, that the lingua franca form in comparison with the basis form shows less differentiation in grammar, vocabulary and phonology. To this must be added that the lingua franca form is being influenced by the

> "linguistic habits of those people using it. The difference between basis form and lingua franca form is as a rule recognized without difficulty by the speakers of the basis form, whereas this is not always the case in respect of those speaking the lingua franca form.

Let us illustrate further the point. English, as it is spoken by Englishmen, is the basis or natural form of the language. It is spoken by a people to whom it is a mother tongue or a first language. But the English, as it is spoken in Nigeria by Nigerians, is the lingua franca form of the language. This means that it is learned by people speaking other languages as their mother tongues, and is habitually used by them as their second language in national and inter-ethnic communications.

The degree of this difference varies from one lingua franca to another. It can be so wide as to create a language border between the two forms, that is, they form different languages: for example, the languages of the three Scandinavian States (Denmark, Norway and Sweden) which are related to German and only showing some dialectal differences among themselves. Other examples are the Flemish and German; native Swiss German and German; Spanish and Portuguese, where the dialects of one shade imperceptibly into the dialects of the other.

In other cases the natural form and the lingua franca form appear like two dialects of the same language, as in Canadian, American, Australian and South African English; and in other cases the two forms appear so similar to each other, that one finds it difficult to speak of different forms of dialects, as in Scottish, Welsh or Irish English. The extreme case of divergence in the two forms leads to the development of pidgin or creole by which the lingua franca form undergoes a change of structure. Examples of this category are the Nigerian Pidgin-English and the Krio, the creole English of Sierra Leone.

As the basis or natural form represents a model of the language, it exerts upon the speakers of the lingua franca form a certain influence. If the difference between the two forms is less pronounced, it means that the basis form has greater impact on the lingua franca form. The smaller the influence of the basis form, the more the lingua franca form attempts to assert itself and to move towards differentiation and pidginization.

Another characteristic of a lingua franca is that it originates, like all other major human events, from specific dictates of history. It starts, develops, persists, grows weak and gradually wanes or fades away as soon as those conditions sustaining it change. That was the fate of Greek, Latin and Turkish coinés of the great empires of the past. That must have been the fate of other lingua francas in Africa, Asia and America in the past. Of the lingua francas born out of the 19th century colonialism by European powers, only English and French still make formidable impacts as world languages. Russian and Chinese are coming to prominence with the emergence of Russia and China as world powers. That is the fate of languages. One day, English and French will be outgrown and thrown into limbo like the Greek and Latin.

Lingua francas grow under favourable conditions and can, in turn, decay in a changed sociolinguistic situation. Local examples abound in Nigeria. In important centres along the coast of Southern Nigeria contact with Europeans was intense during the 19th century. The coastal peoples were governed by very powerful kings who controlled the palm oil trade with European firms. Some of these were King Jaja of Opobo, King Pepple of Bonny, King Nana of Jekiri (Hsekiri), and the powerful riverain kings like the Atah of Igala with

his headquarters at Idah on the left bank of the River Niger. These kings with their coastal and riverain subjects acted as middlemen between the European traders stationed along the coast and the other ethnic groups in the hinterland. The kings became rich, famous and very influential. The prestige of their ethnic groups was high. Because of their esteem and importance, they dictated the terms of trade to their neighbours in the interior. No wonder some of the big names and events in the history of the early British penetration into the country were mostly of the coastal kings and their activities. History has it that the inland ethnic groups were compelled by political, social and economic forces to learn some of the languages of the coastal and riverain inhabitants as lingua franca.

This is a fact. With the towns of Odekpe, Oko and Ossomari, along the banks of the River Niger, the imprint of the Igala civilisation and language on the inhabitants is still noticeable. My personal research tours to the Igalaland confirmed certain important facts of history. The three towns mentioned above, though Igbo-speaking, are noted for their peculiar cultural heritage: the OFO festival, famous for its Egugu masquerades. Though time and space have influenced the people, yet they did not completely obliterate their adherance to this vital cultural heritage with its peculiar linguistic affinity. For instance, some of the words, like Iyagada-mujemuje, used in the songs during this festival have no Ibo but Igala origin.

The linguistic influence of the coastal people upon their neighbours in the interior was also felt in the Delta, particularly in the then Rivers Province. The people of Abua in Abua/Odual and Ahoada Divisions in the hinterland were obliged to learn Kalabari in order to enjoy the light and the benefits of contact with the whiteman. These were, by then, the exclusive monopoly of the Kalabaris or North-Eastern Ijos. Ijo was further promoted as lingua franca by the European missionaries charged with education in the Delta.

Later, with the British total control of administration of the entire country, its influence was felt everywhere; the role of the middlemen disappeared. Economic considerations made the European firms prefer dealing directly with the people concerned with the source of raw materials and products. Some of these are found in the interior. Hence the reversed importance and prestige between the coastal and hinterland inhabitants. The linguistic relationship between Abua and Ijo was strained and broken. As a lingua franca, Kalabari decayed and became a vernacular language.

The Ibo hegemony dealt a decisive blow on the erstwhile status claims of coastal languages. The Ibo ethnic group controlled the administration of the then Eastern Region of Nigeria; the economic weight of Ibo traders and businessmen was brought to bear on all the minority groups of the Region; no ethnic group could see the light except through Ibo patronage. Port-Harcourt became an Ibo city in terms of the teeming Ibo population; over 80% of the landed property in the city was owned by the Ibos. The Igbo language virtually became the lingua franca of Eastern Nigeria. In addition, there was a large population of Ibos and Igbo-speakers as plantation workers and traders in the then Spanish Island of Fernando Po. One can consider that period as the most glorious days of the Igbo language as lingua franca.

With the change of Civilian Regime in 1966 and the subsequent creation of states, and the return of Nigerians from Equatorial Guinea, the role of Igbo as a lingua franca has changed. It is now restricted mainly to the Igbo-speaking people of Anambra, Bendel and Imo States. In the Cross River and Rivers States, which were carved out of the former Eastern Region, new awareness of ethnic individuality, political self-determination, and the preservation of cultural heritage, has changed the sociolinguistic situation of Igbo

in the areas. Today the dominant languages in the two states are the Efik in the Cross River State and the Ijo in the Rivers. The spread of Igbo as lingua franca is halted because the political, social and economic forces responsible for sustaining it have ceased to exist. This does not, however, alter the status of Igbo as one of the three most widely spoken languages, in terms of population of speakers, in the country.

Another important language in the country is Yoruba. It is used as mother tongue in Lagos, Ogun, Ondo and Oyo States, as well as in parts of Kwara State. Outside Nigeria, it is also found as a mother tongue among the Nago in the Porto-Novo region of Benin Republic (as far as Kuti, Sakete, Pobe, Sabe, etc.) and in the Zou area like Dassa-Zoumé. It is also spoken as a second language in certain other areas of the Republic. It is said that the people of Atakpamé and the surrounding region in Togo speak Ife or Fé, a dialect of Yoruba.

The influence of Yoruba is also felt in some local languages in the Bendel State. Small border communities in Akoko-Edo and Kukuruku (yekhee) areas in the north-west of Bendel State are bilingual: they use local languages and Yoruba. Some use Yoruba as frequently as their native tongues; others use it as a second language. One may ask: is Itsekiri a dialect of Yoruba, or a language close to it? The linguistic interference of Yoruba on the Itsekiri language is such that a casual listener to an Itsekiri-speaker may conclude it is a dialect of Yoruba. Yet the adoption of Yoruba as lingua franca is considered out of place. The Itsekiris see their language as a treasure which they must preserve at all costs in order to maintain their ethnic individuality in the country. The influence of Yoruba on the Egun language of the Badagry area of Lagos State has reached a situation of stable bilingualism on almost all Egun-speaking people. Yet Egun refuses to die. Languages are tough and not easy to kill because its death means some loss of ethnic personality.

There are interesting observations one can make from the above illustrations. Like all other forces, a lingua franca does not spread on its own accord. It is imposed and as such must be maintained for a long period of time to ensure its survival. The survival of English as our lingua franca despite the fact that the force which brought it is no longer operative, is, however, due to our inability to find or choose a substitute to challenge and replace it not only as an inter-community but also as an international language in the country. English is also considered a politically neutral language in Nigeria.

Naturally, an African lingua franca cannot gain a foothold in the area of spread of another language if it is not dominantly superior in terms of number of speakers, as well as possess political, social, economic and religious advantages or obligations to those who adopt it as a second language. Because the African lingua francas are seen by other ethnic groups as a threat to their very existence, attempts at their adoption as national or official languages are met with resistance. They are seen as not being politically neutral.

In West Africa, for example, there are visible cultural differences between the Northerners in the Savanna and the Sahel Belt and the Southerners along the coast. Ethnic rivalries, economic disparity, differences in religious and historical background make it difficult for such northern lingua francas like Hausa, Songhai and Mandigo to gain foothold in the southern areas, or spread in the domains of other established languages. Greenberg noted this with regards to Hausa and Kanuri (Greenberg 1965: 53):

> Hausa was the language of the Fulani — dominated Mustim Empire of Sokoto, which fought for supremacy with the Kanuri Empire of Bornu in the pre-European period. The

> traditional attitude of hostility still finds expression in an unwillingness to recognize the dominant position of Hausa and to accommodate to it.

Ethnic rivalries and differences in historical background were also responsible for lack of understanding and fear of domination amongst the major linguistic groups in Nigeria. Thus, Hausa, a widely spoken language in the north, was quite unable to penetrate the territory of Ibo and Yoruba. This explains also the resistance to Swahili by major ethnic and linguistic groups such as Kikuyn, Luo, and Ganda in East Africa. Lingala, despite government support, had difficulty establishing itself safely amongst the powerful Bakongo ethnic group in Kinshasa.

A lingua franca as an inter-linguistic medium of communication does not normally replace the mother tongue, since it is spoken in certain situations. It ceases to be a lingua franca under two extreme situations: this happens when those using it as second language abandon its use, or when they adopt it totally as their mother tongue. Under these situations, a lingua franca relinguishes its characteristics and becomes a vernacular because its residual or actual speakers use it now as the "language of the soil" rather than as an inter-linguistic means of communication. This decline in original function is what is known as a provisional role of a lingua franca. We have already discussed such a decline in function in our study of the relationship between the coastal and the hinterland peoples of Nigeria in the 19th century.

The Hausa-Fulani relationship in northern Nigeria provides an example of the development of a lingua franca into a situation of stable bilinguism. Here, circumstances of history compelled the Fulanis to adopt Hausa as a lingua franca and to neglect gradually Fulfulde, their own mother tongue. The range of functions of the two languages acts in a complimentary way. Hausa, the language serving as lingua franca, is used in the field of trade, communication, administration, religion, etc. The Fulanis have been bilingual for centuries, employing Hausa and their own language without fear of loss of their cultural heritage or ethnic individuality. This is not surprising. History has it that in the 19th century, the Fulanis, under the leadership of Othman dan Fodio, founded the famed Fulani Empire which promoted the Hausa language to the status of lingua franca in Northern Nigeria.

An indigenous national lingua franca for Nigeria?

The point to consider here is the Nigerian language of the future with regards to the choice of an indigenous lingua franca. By this I mean the analysis of all that is involved in the selection of an indigenous language as a national language.

The countries of the third world are developing nations in search for socio-cultural integration, on one hand, and for administrative self-management, on the other hand. In multilingual societies, these two factors determine the language policy decisions of the governments. Let us group these states into three categories, basing our classification on the factors that determine the adoption of indigenous languages as lingua francas.

The first category is characterised by lack of unifying great tradition, that is, something which serves as a rallying point for socio-cultural integration and of administrative integration at the nationwide levels. This leads, as Fishman pointed out (Whiteley 1971: 27-52), to the selection of an

international language as a national official language. Such nations have selected the language of their pre-independence Western rulers for all nationwide purposes. Under such circumstances language selection is for efficient operational integrity of the nation. We are primarily concerned here not with ethnic authenticity which is not possible, but with operational efficiency. The elites of such nations tended to view local and regional languages as serving merely secondary purposes vis-à-vis the viability of the nation as a whole. They consider the international language as fulfulling permanent nationwide purposes, that is, as facilitating the development of national objectives, national symbols, and national identifications. The preoccupation is to preserve the polity as an operational entity and then seek to develop national identity and identifications over time. We can mention Liberia and Sierra Leone as examples in West Africa.

The second category of nations tend to base their decisions upon long-established socio-cultural unities. There is widespread consensus that a unifying great tradition or culture is available to provide indigenous symbols, laws, beliefs, customs, literature, and history for nationwide identity. The unifying great tradition available to such nations leads to the selection of a single indigenous language to serve as national language. The great tradition and the indigenous language have been associated with each other for so long a time that they are by now considered inseparable and adequate for socio-cultural integration at the national level. Both contribute to nationalism, that is, the ideology of authenticity or identity. The elites in this category realize however that they have to render this strong national identity more functional for the purposes of national well-being in the modern world of technology, science and administrative complexity. Because of the well-established force of national authenticity, any international language will no longer have a national role to fulfil and will become a mere foreign language. The bilingualism here is the contrary of the first category: a permanent place is accorded to indigenous national language and a secondary place to the international language. Examples abound in those developing nations where ethnic, religious and philosophical systems permeate all aspects of national life. Some striking examples are China (the Peking dialect of Mandarin is the prestige language of government); Israel (Hebrew); Ethiopia (Amharic); Tanzania (Swahili); Arab States (Arabic), etc.

Unlike the first category characterized by the felt absence of an outstanding indigenous great tradition that is considered adequate to serve the purposes of socio-cultural integration at the national level, and unlike the second category characterized by the presence of a single predominant unifying indigenous great tradition that serves these very purposes, the third category is characterized by a multiplicity of antagonistic great traditions. Since each of these great traditions is numerically, economically and ideologically strong enough to support separate and large-scale socio-cultural and administrative integrations, their competition within a single polity makes for rather constant internal tension and for inter-ethnic disunity. Indeed, the nations in this category must stand for a supranationalistic goal, since nationalism per se is rather well developed but only in regional or state level. At the regional level therefore, language selection is as easy as it was in nations of the second category, since regional great traditions inevitably have their language counterparts: Lagos, Ondo, Oyo, Ogun and some parts of Kwara States (Yoruba); Sokoto, Kaduna, Niger, Kano, Bauchi States (Hausa); Anambra and Imo States (Igbo). It is at the broader national level, however, that language selection problems occur since any chosen indigenous language

for the role of national language would yield an unequitable advantage to its native speakers, and enhance the prestige of its native great tradition in the management of supraregional or national affairs. In order to avoid constant rivalry for national supremacy or hegemony among the various ethnic groups, a foreign international language is frequently selected "de jure" or utilized "de facto" as official or as a working language at the national level. The foreign international language appears to be particularly related to nationwide activities of Central or Federal Government and of interregional communication. The choice of an international language as the national language does not disturb the regional level of socio-cultural and administrative integrations. But each regional official language requires modernization for its own regional realizations. From a national perspective, the model citizen here is viewed as multilingual, or at least bilingual: he speaks the language of his ethnic group at a regional level, the working international language at a national level, and perhaps one or two other indigenous languages of other ethnic groups. Examples abound in the majority of countries in the third world: India, Malaysia, Ghana, Togo, Nigeria, etc.

As we have just seen, Nigeria belongs to the third category of nations in our analysis: she has a conflicting or competing multiplicity of great traditions. She is then confronted with perplexing linguistic problems. There are about 368 languages spoken in the country. This is not surprising, bearing in mind that there exists in the continent a higher proportion of indigenous languages and dialects than any other comparable region on earth. As elsewhere in Black Africa the Nigerian indigenous languages correspond roughly to the multitude of ethnic groups with a variety of customs and traditions.

The following is the résumé of the present linguistic position of the country. The three major languages are Hausa (North), Yoruba (West) and Igbo (East). Practical considerations and the needs of mobility and national unity demand the choice and promotion of a single language as an official lingua franca. The choice would normally be extremely difficult, because of a great number of languages to choose from and psychological and emotional factors to consider. As it is, further practical considerations, and the needs of international viability in the modern world, dictate the adoption of English, the language of former colonial power, as the official national language. Although spoken by a minority of the educated, one can rightly say that English, being the language of administration, commerce and education, is our national lingua franca because it serves as official medium of linguistic communication between a people with about 368 languages.

Though individuals speak the language of their respective ethnic groups, there are some who can speak fluently two or three other indigenous languages in addition to English. For example, according to Pierre Alexandre (Spencer 1963: 53-59), as a result of Jihad which finally ended in the establishment of the Fulani Empire across the northern part of the country, we find in Ilorin capital of Kwara State, either associated or juxtaposed, the following linguistic situation: Arabic, the language of prestige and religion; Fulfulde, retained by the conquering Fulani aristocracy; Hausa, the administrative language of Sokoto empire; Yoruba, the language of the town-dwellers who founded the city; and finally, in the surrounding country-side, the languages of peasants who have been successively subjugated by the Yoruba and the Fulani. To this must still be added the language of traders from other ethnic groups and today, English and Pidgin. With inter-ethnic marriages, we have here a situation in which one person in the course of his daily activities may have to use two or three languages besides his paternal and maternal languages.

Some local languages and English are used at the same time as languages for mass media. The Internal Broadcasting is done in English and in the following nine native languages: Edo, Efik, Fulfulde, Hausa, Igbo, Ijo, Kanuri, Tiv, Yoruba. For the External Broadcasting, one uses English, Hausa, French, Arabic.

What is the Federal Government policy with regards to the indigenous national language? Thanks to the Report of the Public Service Commission, otherwise known as the Udoji Commission, we now have the most categorical statement a Federal Government of Nigeria has ever made on the question of indigenous lingua franca. In its approach to the problems that plagued the public service, the Commission noted in chapter 2 (page 4, paragraph 17) of its Main Report under the title "Cultural and Environmental Factors Which Affect the Public Service":

> An overriding problem, which affects the public service as it does all aspects of society, is that of language. Nigeria shares with many developing, and some developed countries, the lack of an indigenous lingua franca. What this means for efficiency in the conduct of government and business is rarely even thought about, perhaps because there seems to be no immediate answer. But it is perfectly clear to the careful observer that below the topmost levels in the various sectors of society, most people are conducting their business in a language which, in varying degrees, they have not in fact mastered. We are no wiser than anyone else in offering solutions to this problem for the public service, except to call for understanding on the part of superiors of the fact that if they want their instructions understood, they must apply patience and understanding of the exceptional problems of communication in this kind of linguistic dilemma; and to call for vastly expanded research in all aspects of linguistic science with a view to developing a national lingua franca.

In reply to Udoji, the Federal Government in its "Government Views on the Report of the Public Service Review Commission", published in December, 1974, stated:

> The Government is fully aware that the trend the world over is to have a national language which is a means of preserving the people's culture. Although the adoption of a *lingua franca* in Nigeria is a task which cannot be achieved overnight, Government is of the view that a beginning should be made as soon as possible and considers it to be in the interest of national unity that each child should be encouraged to learn one of the three major languages in Nigeria other than his own vernacular.

From the two statements quoted above, it will be seen that it is generally agreed that Nigeria, like most countries in Africa, has a language problem. And both the Public Service Review Commission and the Federal Government of

the Cowan regime agreed that it was desirable to work towards the adoption of an indigenous national language: the Udoji Commission called "for yastly expanded research in all aspects of linguistic science with a view to developing a national lingua franca", the Government White Paper stated that a beginning should be made towards the adoption of a lingua franca and that "in the interest of national unity each child should be encouraged to learn one of the three major languages in Nigeria other than his own vernacular."

It is clear that the government did not hide the fact that it was mainly interested in the problem of national unity as far as our languages are concerned, hence English is cetained as the official national neutral lingua franca. However, the government indicated that in the search for an indigenous lingua franca, all the supposedly 368 languages of Nigeria would not be considered. Although no names were mentioned, it is obvious that the reference to "the three major languages in Nigeria" can only mean Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba. This is a cautions but positive step.

These three languages definitely account for more than half of the Nigerian population, from the point of view of mother tongue usage. When we add the number of people who speak them (particularly Hausa) as second language, the percentage of the speakers may be more than 80%. Most of the other languages would each then cover only a small percentage of the entire population of Nigeria, most often, less than 1%.

I think the Government was correct in trying to avoid the repetition of the mistakes that some countries, like India and Burma, had made in implementing an indigenous national language policy too hostily.

It is politically unwise to pretend that language is not an inflammatory issue. In a multilingual society like Nigeria a unilateral decision to choose an indigenous lingua franca can become a serious explosive political matter. For a language to become a national language, it should be politically neutral. If it is not characterized by political neutrality it is too often regarded merely as a tool which a particular language group seeks to extend its domination. Quite naturally, this is a cause for alarm among other language groups. In the country at present there is simply no politically neutral indigenous language. In fact, the former division of the country into three major regions reflects roughly the three language poles: Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba. Political tensions would increase and the survival of the country more seriously threatened if only one of these languages were to be promoted by the Government to the status of a national language without adequate ideological orientation.

A limited indigenous lingua franca can work in some of our linguistically almost homogeneous states, such as Oyo, Ogun, Ondo, Lagos, Anambra, Imo, Niger, Kano, Kaduna, Bauchi, Borno. It is what one can call state lingua franca or unilingualism. It cannot work in the other states with heterogeneous ethnic and linguistic groups. The latter states must be bilingual or multilingual. And if it is impossible to have unilingualism for each of all our states it will be chaotic to advocate a single indigenous national language at the moment. These views are not negative or pessimistic approach to our language problems. They are cautious approach which takes into consideration our unique national environment and politics.

I rather suggest the following short-term realistic remedies to be in operation while the detailed policy and measures are being planned:

(a) We shall encourage the language induction course already started by the Management of the National Youth Service Corps.

(b) We shall introduce the policy whereby special meritorious awards will be accorded to the people who master some of our main languages.

(c) With the introduction of Universal Primary Education, emphasis will

be placed on learning in schools as many Nigerian languages as the Government may direct.

(d) We shall make these indigenous languages economically viable so as to attract adherents.

(e) These factors will help to preserve and develop our languages and make some extensive linguistic communication in them possible.

We provide here an analytical survey of the factors and consequences which affect the choice of an indigenous national language, and which ought to be considered by the authorities.

The following factors should be noted:

(a) Population of speakers, with age, occupation and class distribution.
(b) Location: geographical, political and social boundaries.
(c) Present status: any evidence of change in status e.g. decline, increase, age-shift, geographical extension, etc.
(d) Literature: oral and written tradition; use in educational institutions and in political, religious and other organisations; mass media using the language, such as newspapers, radio, television.
(e) History of any specialized use of the language including education; history of social and religious pressure groups, and history of any relation with other languages of the area concerned.
(f) Economic strength: method of finance: state or private or national; staff recruitment and training facilities; availability of teaching materials; foreign aid and technical assistance requirements.
(g) Administrative, commercial and mass media requirements in terms of costs for changing language.
(h) Adult education facilities, and literacy campaigns.

We predict here some of the possible consequences which are likely to follow a decision about an indigenous national language by politicians and administrators. This analysis is not in any way comprehensive. The anticipated result may not necessarily follow in some degree in each case. As customary in economic and social predictions, we employ here the time-scale divisions of short-time and long-term.

The short-term consequences of the change may be:

(a) Possible violent reactions from other groups.
(b) Retardation of development, especially in technology and higher education, and economic affairs; retardation of certain linguistic groups to whom the chosen language may be repugnant; political, administrative, social and economic effects may be felt.
(c) Cohesion of an ethnic or linguistic group whose language is chosen; possible isolation of the group: politically, culturally, internationally.
(d) Possible ease of speedy acquisition of the language in question if the whole nation is ideologically orientated.
(e) Early linguistic development of the chosen language.

The long-term consequences of the change may be as follows:

(a) Less linguistic barriers may result in greater cohesion among all the ethnic groups and in ultimate social and political unity and mobility.
(b) Preservation of national originality of culture may result in enhanced international prestige.
(c) Possible loss of minority cultures and languages.
(d) Break off in the use of English language may result in absence of free exchange with the international community.

(e) Possible modification in the programme of the adopted language, and a return to English.

Because they have not been used for higher education or for official purposes, many of the indigenous languages lack the advanced literature and the technical or specialized vocabulary necessary to make them fully viable as national languages. Any national indigenous language for Nigeria must have to borrow large numbers of words, and to coin large numbers of words, in order to handle new concepts of discoveries and inventions introduced by contact with other societies and civilizations. Higher education and the law have to be conducted in the chosen indigenous language in order that the language will be better equipped with an accepted and naturalized technical vocabulary, with textbooks using that vocabulary, and with law courts interpreting its contents. The lack of such equipment is a serious obstacle to the national language programmes of several countries. Committees can be established to enlarge the local vocabulary; but without constant use in the law courts and in the institutions of higher learning the new vocabulary cannot be assimilated. The committees should have proper linguistic guidelines.

If we want to raise one of the indigenous languages to the status of a national language, we must either devote a very considerable proportion of our resources to word-coining and translation on an immense scale, or painfully watch the programme become misfit and outdated.

The drive for nationalism produces an inevitable demand for a unifying national indigenous language. This is an understandable aspiration on the part of those struggling with the problems of education and administration. A common indigenous language in modern Nigeria is a powerful factor for unity: it would cut across ethnic lines and promote a feeling of single community. But one obviously cannot succeed simply by trying to force people to use a single language in a country with about 368 languages. A person's own mother tongue is probably his most distinctive symbol of belonging, and therefore he is least likely to give it up. History has numerous examples where repression almost inevitably results in people clinging to their own language like religion.

For an equitable solution in language matters, there is no question here of simple choices, such as between English and the major Nigerian languages or between English and Hausa. Some attention needs to be paid to all of them if Nigeria is to be linguistically prepared to play the part she envisages for herself in modern Africa.

Our language policy for the present should be positive and conciliatory. The national task of the government will be the preservation and enrichment of the cultural heritage of all the ethnic groups in the country. This cultural heritage is enshrined in the indigenous languages which should not be allowed to die because of delicate social and political problems latent in the extreme multilingualism of the country. Some of these languages abound in both written and oral literatures; others have copious rich oral literatures and traditions. Our youths will be losing sight of these traditions if they are not taught to read, write, love and respect their own languages. It is through the use and improvement of the indigenous languages that the traditions and culture of the nation will be maintained and strengthened.

The educational system must also aim at the maintenance of high standards in English. For some time to come at least, this language will continue to play its unifying role in the country. It is crucial to higher education and administrative and professional unity. It is also the international medium of communication as well as an important language for scientific and technological information.

The educational development should be planned in such a way as to satisfy our linguistic needs for both indigenous languages and English. Though this involves a great deal of challenge, yet there will be no cause for conflict if things are handled with care.

Let us conclude by emphasizing that we must have some kind of linguistic unity if we are to succeed as living institution, and this can be accomplished, not by forcibly weeding or exterminating minority languages, but by evolving a system whereby one indigenous language or the three main indigenous languages are recognized as national languages and the rest encouraged or tolerated at the state or local level. The invaluable contribution of this basic orientation to the nation's process of civilization is quite obvious. In fact, an indigenous lingua franca remains an enviable attribute of our civilization.

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CHAPTER 12

SOCIOLINGUISTIC CASE-STUDY OF HAUSA AS LANGUAGE OF IMPOSITION IN NIGERIA.

Introduction

Language spreads by imposition on, or assimilation of, other languages. Those who come from unilingual states, that is, those who have one official language imposed or determined by historical forces, will find it difficult to understand the language problems of a multilingual society like Nigeria.

I recognize that the language problems facing us, though peculiar, are not themselves new by any means. Similar examples can be found from all periods of history in different parts of the world.

Empires and nations come into being by means of conquest beyond the ethnic territory or area of homogeneous linguistic group. This means the imposition of government upon peoples of differing culture and language by one dominant group. This introduces linguistic complications in mass communication. Through linguistic demands and conflict or cultural struggle by the political use of the language issue, adjustment, and assimilation over a lengthy period of many generations, a dominant language group eclipses other minority or non-dominant language groups to impose slowly its own mother tongue or language of its choice upon the nation as a whole.

The process takes a very long time to be effective because language, like other natural institutions, is not easy to eliminate. Its killing means, to put it bluntly, a cultural genocide of a people.

We shall try briefly here to discuss a few important empires of the past and establish their relationship with well known world languages, either 'dead' or 'living'. This will take us to the Fulani Empire and the Hausa language. We shall conclude with an examination of the present position of Hausa in Nigeria.

Empires and language imposition

As Nigeria is not a desert in the world of nations, let us first make some geographical language tours of some countries in search of a few of the better known occurrences of the phenomenon of imposition of an official or administrative language on the homelands of other languages by an imperial power. This is a phenomenon which has occurred on numerous occasions in human history.

Let us consider first the Greek Language. The ancient Greece comprised of a loose confederation of tribes around the coasts and on the islands of the Aegean Sea. These tribes quarrelled often among themselves but were united by a common language and culture. Under the leadership of Alexander the Great in the fourth century B.C., Greece swelled and created an empire which ended in confusion with the death of the founder. But around the Mediterranean world, the imposed Greek culture and koine, as its lingua franca is called, persisted through the Seleucids in Asia Minor and the Ptolemies in Egypt and could not be eclipsed by the advancing influence of Latin. The Hellenization was a necessity to many.

Latin is the best known example of the imposition and development of a language in ancient history. Through military might, the language spoken by an originally obscure group of people in the central part of the Italian

peninsula was spread over vast areas of the then known world. Over wide stretches of the empire, pax romana was established. Roman culture and education were a source of pride to those who successfully acquired them. Latin became the lingua franca of the empire and was prided as the most successful linguistic development in the world. Fifteen centuries after the collapse of the empire, Latin survives over a large proportion of the former imperial area in the West, from the Atlantic Ocean to the Black Sea. But its story of success is different in the Eastern part of the empire — Asia Minor and Middle East — where it clashed with, and was defeated by, a firmly rooted rival, the Greek language. The already established Hellenic culture and language completely overshadowed it. It was the Roman invaders and conquerors who eagerly sought to acquire Greek, the language of the conquered.

Arabic is our third example of a highly successful militarily imposed language. There were various dialects of this Semitic language, but the fame of one of these was due to the rise of Mohammed, his success in Jihad and his use of the holy book, the Koran. Arabic was spread by Islam or Mohammedanism to Asia, Europe and Africa. Although the Islamic Empire broke into a series of independent Moslem states and fell easy prey to the Seljuk invasion from Asia, the Arabic language however survived in the Central or Arab regions of the empire. It assimilated all the other Semitic dialects in Arabia, displaced Greek especially in the Arab Levant, eliminated Coptic in Egypt, and chased the Berber language of North Africa into the inaccessible areas in the Shara Desert and Atlas Mountains. To the present day, Arabic is still the main or in most cases the only language of the whole Arab race in the Middle East and Africa. Its survival as one of the great languages of the world is due not only to its rich literary inheritance as the language of learning and of law but mainly to its use as the language of Koran and Koranic Law throughout the Islamic world.

Turkish provides us with an example of an unsuccessful language imposition. The Seljuks, who emerged from Turkmenistan in the tenth century, successfully, subjugated the Near East and Eastern Europe, adopted Islam as their religion and in the eleventh century established an empire with its capital at Baghdad. The empire was disintegrated in the twelfth century but was subsequently restored by Ottoman Turks. At its height in the seventeenth century, the empire stretched from Vienna to the Indian Ocean, and from Tunis to the Caucassus. The decay of the vast empire was slow. Its political, religious, cultural and military organisation was so inter-woven and stable that it took nearly three centuries of internal intrigue and external conflict to bring the empire to a collapse in 1918. Turkish, the language of the empire, spread as the official language into Europe and over most of the Arabic-speaking peoples of the Near and Middle East where it was for a thousand years from the tenth century to 1918 the official language of administration and authority. But why did Turkish retreat and disappear with the crumbled Ottoman Empire? It is a most unsuccessful imposed language because: it was operating mostly in regions with established language of civilisation; it adopted and spread Islam which is rich in Arabic literature, the Koran; it therefore left nothing behind it to perpetuate its memory.

We have seen classical examples of imposition of a uniform official language through conquests in Ancient, Medieval and Modern histories. The English, French, Portuguese and Spanish languages in Africa and elsewhere in the world are obvious recent examples of language imposition through colonialism and sometimes permanent settlement in the colonized territories.

The history and development of the English language can be seen in the history

of adventurous England. In Britain's 53,821,364 inhabitants (1971 census preliminary figures), England has 45,870,062, while Scotland (5,227,706) and Wales (2,723,596) share the rest. English became, by the circumstances of history, not only the nation's lingua franca but also the most popular international language of modern times and consequently eclipsed the other two and threw them into limbo.

Let us take a rapid look at English as an imposed lingua franca in Nigeria. As in other English-speaking West African countries, English is the language of administration in the country. During the eighteenth century and until the second half of the nineteenth, it gradually became the contact or trade language of the coastal people. The missionary and commercial penetration into the hinterland resulted in the British seeing the necessity of taking over control and setting up an administration with English as its language over the whole territory. Though the period of its imposition is short, about three-quarters of a century on the average, its success is due to the fact that the country is multilingual. My recent detailed research and field-work on the languages of Nigeria reveals that the number of languages (not dialects) spoken in Nigeria is in the neighbourhood of 368. The British authority, after pacification, effectively administered the territory and welded peoples of differing language, religion, and culture into a unity, thanks to the use of a common imposed language.

As a language of commerce, law, politics, administration, education and of culture above local level, English is an important factor in the provision of opportunity in a wider context in the society. It appears to possess in the country today all the characteristic features of a successful imposition and expansion of a language in a new territory. This fact is understood by the 'anglophils' who argue that the development and imposition of an indigenous language on the nation will encourage tribalism which is detrimental to the building of the national or supranational sentiments. A protagonist, in order to buttress his argument, recently cited the Editorial opinion in the Daily Express issue of 23rd of November 1961, regarding the debate on the national language question by the former civilian Federal House of Representatives:

> Parliament should be more careful about involving itself in the language tangle into which it is now being drawn. English is the accepted official language, the one outward expression of all that unites the various peoples in this country --- to seek to replace English with some vernacular at a particular date-line is asking for more than the greatest nationalist of them all can handle. The difficulties are not all of translating text books and scientific formulae or even of cash. What happened in India and more recently, still in Ceylon, should make the protagonists of this motion have second thoughts.

Fulani Empire and Hausa Language

At the time of the British conquest of Nigeria, the Fulani had established a rather unwieldy empire that extended beyond Hausaland to include vast areas occupied by the small groups of the Middle Belt. Let us examine briefly here the nature of this empire in order to be able to understand its general features in lingua franca imposition.

Nigeria today prides herself as the giant of Africa. Its size, population

and potentials give her citizens international image or prestige. Yet Nigeria had never really been a nation before 1900 and the foundations and basis for her nationhood had not really been laid until 1804 when Othman dan Fodio started what was not only a religious revolution but a social, political, cultural and linguistic integration that brought the greater part of the country under one leadership. Othman dan Fodio ran for the country this first leg in our race to nationhood. It was a relay race that took him through all the small Hausa city states, knitting them inextricably into one social and political unit. Before then, like their counterparts in the south of the country, there was no unity between these city states. With the introduction of religion as a more potent element in military conquest, the area became much more than a political entity. It became a social one, for Islam is not only a religion but a way of life, which once introduced became a part of the people.

Before the Fulani conquest which occurred in the early 19th century, the Hausas were organized into large states of which the most prominent were Zaria, Kano, and Gobir.

The Fulanis — also known as Fulbes, Fulas, Fellatas, or Peuls — had migrated into the Hausalands since the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries. They were members of the preponderantly nomadic people who came from the extreme West African territories and advanced further and further to the east in search of grazing grounds for their cattle. They settled in Hausalands and were dependent on the Hausa princes to whom they had to pay tribute. There was social discontent about their second class status in Hausaland. The Fulanis were of two types: the cattle rearing Fulani (Bororoje), who resented the heavy taxes imposed on their cattle; the town Fulani (Fulani - Gida), who had intermarried with the Hausas and had become so integrated into the society as not to be regarded as foreigners, but they had remained for so long only a tolerated minority. Their intelligence and ability soon established them in positions of influence.

Such a position had been gained by Othman dan Fodio, a fanatical Fulani sheikh of great reputed sanctity. He was born in 1744 at Marata in Gobir, just north of Sokoto province. It is said that his ancestors migrated from the old Empire of Mali. As a young man, he was educated at Agades under a famous Islamic scholar called Jibril. He found the opportunity to reform the Islamic religion when he was appointed a royal court tutor in Gobir. There he gave religious instructions to members of the royal family and the nobility.

As a famous religious preacher he was particularly bold in his condemnation of the laxity with which Islam was practised by the ruling classes of Hausaland. At home he took steps to introduce for his people far-reaching religious reforms after the strict traditions of Mohammedanism. Among them, men were to wear the turban, women the veil and confined to the purdah. The royal family resented these reformist ideas and particularly Othman's growing popularity and influence over the court and affairs of the state. In 1802, Yunfa succeeded to the throne of Gobir after the death of his father. He immediately took steps to reverse these reforms, and to put Othman, in what he considered his proper place. Open confrontation then became inevitable.

Refusing compromise and religious toleration, Othman fled to a town called Gudu (his Hejira) in February 1804. Three months later, in May 1804, he declared Jihad (Holy War) upon the Hausa State of Gobir. His followers proclaimed him Amiral — mumini (commander of the Faithful). He no longer confined the quarrel to Gobir and Yunfa but all the kings and unbelievers in Hausaland. At the age of 60, this Moslem priest became one of the outstanding generals in African history. Giving green flags to his generals he succeeded during the

next 13 years of his life in overthrowing most of the Hausa rulers and replacing them with Fulani Emirs. After the conquest of the Hausa states and adjoining territories such as Yola and Muri in the present Adamawa Province, Nupe, parts of Yorubaland and the entire Middle Belt, Othman, before his death in 1817, established the famed Fulani Empire.

The impulse of the movement was Moslem reforming zeal and an attempt to establish a Fulani hegemony, since all the fourteen flag bearers were Fulanis except one. All this was done in the name of Jihad and it led to the creation of an empire with many features of Islamic administrative character, the lasting value of which was proved in the subsequent history of the area. The effects of this revolution might well be compared to those of the Norman Conquest of England. Emirates, based on Koranic law, were established and administered by Emirs and a state-system was created which transcended ethnic loyalties, possessing a common religious and judicial basis, an aristocratic lingua franca and a system of education through Koranic schools where the Hausa language serves as the medium of instruction.

By and large the jihad should be viewed in terms of its unifying effect for the various people which make up the former Northern Nigeria, and thus a large part of our country. It provided a common religion, literature, social and political set-up which fostered understanding. This made it possible for the British to view it as a homogeneous entity and thus amalgamating it with the heterogeneous Southern Nigeria.

We have considered six cases of the history of language imposition over an area of some considerable extent by military authority. We discovered that in certain cases the languages so imposed did not develop and flourish while in others they survived and spread.

We shall now consider certain factors that are responsible for the success of Hausa as the most widely-spoken language and the only very important lingua franca in Nigeria. This success is not due to the internal features of the language such as phonology or grammar or vocabulary, but rather to the interplay of social, political and military forces. The language was imposed on the Empire and maintained for a good many generations.

Before the Fulani conquest of the Hausalands and the subsequent imposition of Fulani rule, the two groups lived together for centuries in the same towns and villages and Islam was their common religion. The Hausa language was then well developed but originally restricted to the pure Hausalands of Zaria, Kano, Katsina and Sokoto. When Othman established his great empire, the Fulanis, while still intermarrying freely with the Hausas and other groups, nevertheless continue even till the present day to control the administration of the Hausa towns and of the entire empire in Hausa, the language of the conquered majority.

One peculiar interesting aspect of this Empire, therefore, is that the conquerors imposed and maintained their administration in the language of the conquered. They adopted and spread the Hausa instead of their Fulani language or Fulfulde (the recognized standard Yola dialect of the language in Adamawa province of Gongola State), though the language was spoken and still accounts for about five million Nigerians (4,784,366 in 1963 census). Social and political considerations are responsible for the wise linguistic decision in favour of Hausa (Heine, 1970: 153):

> The importance of HAUSA was not encroached upon by this development, but was even considerably furthered. FUL, the language of the conquerors, could not gain a foothold, and thus it was the Ful people themselves

> who recognized the advantage of the already existing lingua franca and on the whole willingly aided in the spread of Hausa within the domain of their rule. Thus the expansion of the Ful followed in the footsteps of the spread of Hausa.

As the Turkish could not survive in the Arab sections of the Ottoman Empire because of a linguistic unity already conferred by the use of Arabic, so also the Fulani language could not have been successfully imposed on the numerically dominant Hausas who were settled cultivators as well as renowned traders in a territory with its favourable geographical situation for trade between the Rain Belt in the south and the Sahara in the north. In addition, Hausa was already subsidiary language of the Koran; both the Hausas and the Fulanis were Moslems and as such, subject in the field of private law to the universal Koranic law. No wonder then that whenever the fulanis hoisted their flags, Hausa rushed in to fill the linguistic and social void. Thus the important features Fulani Empire were the Emirate and the Hausa Language with its Moslem cultu

The spread of Hausa in the so-called "inferior" Hausa states of the Middle Belt, such as Iborin (Yoruba), Nupe, Yanri, Kebbi, Kwarafa (Jukun), Gwari and Zamfara, already characterizes its development as a lingua franca.

This brings us to the next point in considering the success of an imposed language. This is that the area concerned is itself multilingual. The Fulani Empire operated in an area of the most varied linguistic density in the country. My research on Nigeria the languages and my travels to all the pertinent areas reveal the existence of about 272 languages in the present ten states that make up the former Northern Region. Let us enumerate them:

Gongola State: 78 languages

Abon, Awak, Bali, Bambuka, Bandawa-Minda, Bata, Batu, Baya, Bete, Bile, Bitare, Chamba Daka, Chamba Leko, Chomo-Karim, Dera, Dirim, Dong, Fali, Fulfulde, Ga'anda, Gengle, Gongla, Gude, Gudu, Gwomu, Hwana, Icen, Jango, Jiru-Kir, Jukun, Kaka, Kam, Kamkam, Kamwe, Kila, Kilba, Koma, Kotopo, Kpan, Kugama, Kulung, Kumba, Kuteb, Kutin, Kwa, Laka, Lamja, Lelau, Libo, Lo, Longuda, Lotsu-Piri, Magu, Mambila, Mbembe (Tigong), Mboi, Mbula-Bwazza, Mbute, Mumbake, Mumuye, Munga, Ndoro, Nyamnyam, Nzangi, Panyam, Passam, Piya, Roba, Sukur, Teme, Tita, Verre, Vimtim, Waka, Wom, Yandang, Yukuben, Yungur.

Plateau State: 56 languages

Ake, Alago, Amo, Angas, Arum-Chessu, Aten, Bashar, Berom, Boghom, Bokkos, Chakfem-Mushere, Chara, Chip, Chokobo, Daffo-Batura, Eggon, Eloyi, Fyam, Fyer, Gade, Goemai, Horom, Irigwe, Izarek, Janji, Jera, Jidda-Abu, Jorto, Karfa, Koenoem, Kofyar, Kulere, Kwanka, Lemoro, Mabo-Barkul, Mada, Mama, Migili, Montol, Mundat, Naraguta, Nungu, Pai, Pyapun, Rukuba, Sha, Shagawu, Swa, Tal, Tambas, Tapshin, Tarok, Turkwam, Yashi, Yeskwa, Yiwom.

Bauchi State: 49 languages

Bangwinji, Barawa, Barke, Bole, Burak, Buta-Ningi, Cham-Nwana, Dadiya, Deno, Dirya, Duguza, Dulbu, Galambi, Gera, Geruma, Gubi, Guruntum-Mbaaru, Gwa, Gyem, Jaku, Jarawa, Jimbin, Jimi, Ju, Kamo, Karakare, Kariya, Kir-Balar, Kirifi,

Kubi, Kuda-Chamo (language said to be dying out), Kupto, Kushi, Kwami, Lame, Luri, Mangas, Miya, Pa'a, Pero, Sanga, Shall-Zwall, Siri, Tala, Tangale, Tula, Waja, Warji, Zangwal.

Kaduna State: 34 languages

Ayu, Binawa, Chawai, Doka, Dungi, Gure-Kahugu, Hyam, Idon, Iku-Gora-Ankwa, Ikulu, Kadara, Kagoma, Kaivi, Kaje, Kamantam, Kanufi-Kaningkon-Nindem, Katab, Kiballo, Kinuku, Kitimi, Kono, Koro, Kurama, Kuturmi, Kuzamani, Lungu, Nandu-Tari, Ninzam, Numana-Kunku-Gwantu, Piti, Rumaya, Rurama, Shani, Surubu.

Borno State: 21 languages

Affade, Bade, Buduma, Bura, Dghwede, Glavda, Guduf, Jara, Kanuri, Kyibaku, Laamang, Maha, Margi, Matakam, Mober, Ngamo, Nggwahyi, Ngoshe Ndhang, Shuwa Arabic, Tera, Wandala.

Niger State: 10 languages

Bassa-Kaduna, Baushi, Gurmana, Gwandara, Gwari, Kamuku, Ngwoi, Nupe, Pongu, Ura.

Sokoto State: 9 languages

Banga, Dendi, Duka, Kambari, Lela, Puku-Geeri-Keri-Wipsi, Reshe, Shanga, Zarma.

Benu State: 8 languages

Akpa-Yache, Bassa-Kwomu, Etulo, Idoma, Igala, Igede, Oring, Tiv.

Kwara State: 6 languages

Baatonuu, Busa, Ebira, Laru, Lopa, Ogori-Magongo.

Kano State: 1 language

Hausa.

(In the above table, each language is noted once and only in the state where it has majority of speakers. Thus, Hausa is located only in Kano State despite the fact that it is spoken also as first language in large areas of Sokoto, Bauchi, Niger and Kaduna States, and as lingua franca in much of the areas in the Middle Belt. The same rule applies to others like, for example, Fulfulde which is located only in Gongola State, though it is scattered throughout the northern states. This is to avoid duplication or repetition of language names).

We have seen that the Fulani Empire is multilingual. There was the necessity of establishing a standard medium of contact or communication for all the segments of the area. Therefore, by imposing the Hausa language as a lingua franca, the military authority was at the same time imposing some sort of political unity on the area concerned. This led to increased social, commercial, political, economic or cultural contact among different sections of the empire. The increase in contact and the growth of trade increased the importance of the imposed common language. These factors were responsible in the development of an awareness of political, religious and above all linguistic solidarity which led to the so-called 'Northern Hegemony' during the civilian regime in the early 1960's. The Hausa language was influential in developing this regional consciousness and understanding among people previously separated by linguistic barrier and consequently lacking economic and political cohesion.

As an imposed, superstratum language of the Fulani Empire, Hausa possessed obvious advantages for the inhabitants of the various Emirates or provinces. An imposed language must confer material advantages or incentives to make its pursuit worthwhile: opportunities of lucrative employment for those individuals who spoke it; others include economic, religious, ideological, military, etc. incentives. This was the reason why the Fulanis themselves became the borrowers and learners of the Hausa language. Religion and law were also primarily based on this language, and, except in certain non-Hausa-speaking states of the empire, trade, commerce, and finance were largely conducted in Hausa.

Today the Hausa and the Fulani (Fulani-Gida) are culturally indistinguishable.

Present position of Hausa Language in Nigeria

The Hausa language or Abakwariga, Mgbakpa, Hade, Kado, as alternative names, belongs to the group of Chad languages. Calculated on the basis of the 1963 National Census, one can fairly estimate the numerical strength of Hausa speakers today to be over 25 million or 32% of the total population of Nigeria. It is therefore the most widely spoken language in the country.

In Northern Nigeria, Hausa is spoken by almost 100% of the population in the seven "real" Hausa Kingdoms or States of Biram, Daura, Rano, Kano, Zaria, Gobir and Katsina. These territories constitute the present states of Kano, Kaduna, Sokoto and Bauchi in the nineteen-state structure of Nigeria. In these areas, Hausa is the mother tongue or first language and accounts for about 12 million speakers (11,652,745 in the 1963 National Census) or 21% of the national population.

Because of its use as lingua franca during the Fulani Empire, Hausa has a large number of strongly loyal language affiliation or users. Its spread in the seven so-called "inferior" Hausa States of the Middle Belt, such as Ilorin (Yoruba), Nupe, Yanri, Kebbi, Kwarafa (Jukun), Gwari and Zamfara, enhances its prestige in most of these areas where it is not spoken as a first language. These territories correspond to the present Kwara, Niger, Plateau and Benue States. In some of these areas, such as Gwari, the local language has been so eclipsed that the natives now use Hausa as their mother tongue. Here is the case where it is difficult to distinguish between ethnic and linguistic memberships of people. For example, speaking of language distribution in Kano, Heine (Heine, 1970: 155) declared:

> The number of those who speak Hausa as mother tongue, however, is more than 20% higher than those who belong ethnically to the Hausa.

There are, however, variations in the number of the second language users of Hausa from the case of total language assimilation, to 50% in Jos, Pankshin and Biu; 25% in Borgu; 10% in Bida and Lapai; 5% in Idoma and Kwara; 1% in Tiv, Igala, Ilorin, Igbirra.

In the North Eastern part of the country, that is, in the areas represented by the present states of Gongola and Borno, the population of the second language users of Hausa varies from 25% in Adamawa, Gombe, Muri, Lafia to 10% in Wukari and 1% in Bornu.

As lingua franca in the North, one notices often various forms of linguistic interferences in the local languages of Hausa second language users. Like the history of the English language in multilingual Nigeria, there is a parallel phenomenon of Pidgin development in Hausa in the Northern States. This is called Barikanci, otherwise known as Bastard Hausa or Pidgin Hausa, a sort of trade or contact language.

The fact that Hausa does not have as many dialects as one would expect from such a widely spoken language accounts for its spread. There are only three dialects of the language: the northern (Arewa); the western (Sokoto, Katsina, Gobirawa, Adarawa, Kebbawa, Zamfarawa); and the eastern accent (Kano, Katagum, Hadejiya). One form, largely based on the Kano dialect, has come to be regarded as a "standard Hausa", and it is this form which is used in broadcasts, and in the publications of the then Gaskiya Corporation.

No wonder then that during the civilian regime, under the Government of the then Northern Region, Hausa shared official language status with English. No wonder some visitors to the Northern States mistakingly talk of the "Hausa Empire" instead of the Fulani Empire. That was also my impression when I visited the north in the course of my researches. The numerical superiority of Hausa in Nigeria is due to the cultural and linguistic affiliation of the erstwhile Fulani conquerors to this language. The Fulanis appear to continue to abandon their own language, Fulfulde, in favour of Hausa. Was the late Sardauna of Sokoto, Sir Ahmmadu Bello, not a Fulani? Although the 1963 National Census puts the Fulani population at about 9% of the total national figure, one can regard the Hausa-Fulani group as an entity, as one group.

The Hausa language also has greater number of Nigerian speakers of non-northern origin than any other language in either east or west of the country. This is due to the fact that more people from the south have had greater incentive to go and work and settle in the north than vice versa. Trade and labour migrations carried many people from the south into the famous Sabon Garis of the northern cities. In a generation or two these were in part swallowed linguistically by Hausa.

Two areas, however, offered strong resistance to the spread of Hausa as a national lingua franca. These are the southern and the north-eastern parts of the country.

The Yoruba and Ibo are two numerically very strong ethnic and linguistic groups in the south. They are culturally quite different from the north. In addition, the level of sophistication in these areas is comparatively quite higher than in the Hausa-speaking population to the north. Consequently, they looked down on the latter and considered the premier place accorded the Hausa language as a continual process of Fulanization of the whole country.

Hausa remained without noteworthy spread in the Kanuri-speaking Borno State of the north-east. Historically, this is a strong area of rivalry to the Hausa. In the pre-British period the Fulani Empire fought for supremacy with the Bornu Empire: the language of the former is Hausa and that of the latter is Kanuri. Psychologically, this created an attitude of mistrust,

hostility or fear of domination. Hence, Hausa achieved but very little in this area, particularly among the uneducated majority.

However, the continental position of Hausa enhances also its lingua franca status. It is widely used not only in the northern states of Nigeria but also in many other parts of West Africa, such as Niger Republic, Northern Benin, Northern Togo, Northern Ghana and in some parts of the Federal Republic of Cameroun. Politics aside, if Hausa does not measure up to Arabic, it nevertheless occupies almost the same position in the northern parts of West Africa as Swahili in East Africa.

Finally, we may now briefly consider the Hausa language from the point of view of available literature. The language has the oldest literary tradition than any other language in the country. Centuries before the British took over the administration of Northern Nigeria, the malams had literary productions written in Arabic letters or Ajami script. With the new era, an orthography based on the Latin alphabet was adopted and much work has been done in the new script by institutions which sprang up to purify the language as well as translate and publish new works. The Hausa Language Board was set up by the government in 1955 to further the standardisation of written Hausa. The Gaskiya (meaning truth) Corporation was founded and the Press was very useful in mass publications , periodicals, text-books, as well as religious literature. It was the precursor of the present New Nigerian Newspapers Limited which has been pulling its weight very well. Radio and television broadcasts and programmes opened fresh avenues for the use of the language.

Hausa, as a language of civilisation, must be evolutive or elastic and not static. As it comes in contact with new ideas and realities, it must reflect or assimilate them. Therefore, the decision of the participants at the recent Hausa workshop, in April 1976, to establish committees to study the translation of technical words from foreign languages into Hausa, is an approach in the right direction. Very often one listens to news broadcasts in Hausa, as well as in other Nigerian languages, without really comprehending the message. This is because the translators as well as the broadcasters are not themselves certain about a local equivalent of many of the technical words and expressions used. Very little was done in the past to tackle this issue. We cannot feel shy in this because the English and French languages, for example, are big borrowers in time and space. Coupled with the linguistic evolution is the necessity to produce new editions of old and antiquated books which have run out of place in content and language.

Lack of language evolution and text-books, both new and old, is partly responsible for the unsatisfactory teaching of Hausa as well as other Nigerian languages in our schools. There is just no institution seriously concerned with the promotion of our literature. There must be a combined effort of our governments and educational institutions to revitalise the Hausa language by assuming full responsibility for promoting the study and teaching of this premier indigenous language in Nigeria.

Hausa is the most qualified Nigerian lingua franca. It only requires selfless efforts and a change of attitude to make it work. The Government must do a lot of propaganda in order to make the language politically neutral enough as to be adopted as our national lingua franca.

In the past, Hausa was stigmatized the language of the Northern Region. Because of ethnic rivalries, linguistic demands and conflict, and political use of the language issue, there was very little or no sympathy for Hausa on the part of the majority of other linguistic groups in the southern part of the country. Let the spirit of Ramatism prevail so that the introduction of this

language as an indigenous national lingua franca will meet with acclamation. This will enable its study to be enforced without resistance in schools, colleges and universities throughout Nigeria.

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